# Sociology and Social ... Research ...

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# THE CONCEPT OF SOCIOPATHY

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*Social pathology* is sometimes used as a generic term for *social problems,* frequently with a figurative or analogical meaning. There is no such implication when we speak of pathological tissues, organs, or organisms. The etiology and nosology of such conditions are well developed and widely accepted. To a lesser degree the same is true in the field of mental illness. However, the idea that social structures may be pathological is very difficult for most people either to understand or to accept. Yet malstructured and malfunctioning organizations do exist. They have "causes" which can be described and classified; prevention and therapy are also possible. Some societal phenomena are as objectively pathological as fevers and phobias.

Hence, in a systematic nosology, sociopathy should be coordinate with biopathy and psychopathy. The concept of "normal" biological and psychological health has been clarified greatly by studying pathological behavior. The same is likely to be true in the development of adequate concepts of normal, or healthy, societal structures.

There is considerable consensus among sociologists regarding the structure and functions of the major institutions. Hence, the concept sociopathy can be applied to any marked deviation from the norm of either structure or function. Each institution satisfies some basic needs common to all societies, under the guidance of professional personnel, by means of specialized physical equipment and according to ideologies characteristic of particular societies. The basic needs are universal properties of men-in-culture, but the other three factors vary considerably from culture to culture, and temporally within each culture. These basic needs are social and must not be confused with biological needs, as is often done. Biological needs are always involved in social needs, but it is social conditioning that gives rise to the basic social or societal needs which are satisfied by the societal structures.

Meaningful discussion of institutional sociopathy is impossible in the absence of criteria. These should be more general and systematic than the common-sense observation that the institution is functioning badly. The following are offered as first approximation, mainly to guide subsequent analysis. It is realized that much empirical research will be necessary before the indefinite terms in these criteria can be made specific enough to permit very accurate statements about the amount and intensity of the indicated sociopathy. For many years it was possible to speak meaningfully about high and low fevers without being able to specify "how high" or to tell the "cause." So now it is possible to speak meaningfully about relative sociopathy in the various institutions.

However, there are many data to substantiate in varying degrees the following statements about institutional sociopathy. What is called "health" in the family institution can be supported by some objective data, though it is recognized that some would call it serious sociopathy. The same is true of what is called sociopathy in the other institutions— some would call the conditions eminently sound and healthy. Many doctors still disagree on diagnosis and some patients will die because of it. The main purpose here is not to settle moot points, but to present a schema by which some approach may be made to the concept of societal sociopathy, thus hoping to encourage the collection and processing of empirical data which will help to refine and improve the concepts employed here.

An institution is sociopathic (1) when it fails to satisfy its basic needs effectively; (2) when it interferes with the basic need-satisfactions of the other institutions; (3) when its ideology contains marked internal inconsistencies and conflicts; (4) when its ideology is in marked conflict with the ideologies of the other institutions; (5) when it fails to make rapid and adequate adjustments to technological and ideological changes in its own structure or to similar changes in the other institutions; (6) when it functions with unnecessary costs of time, materials, and human resources such as life, labor, health, and insecurity.

*Ideology* means all the folkways, mores, technicways, legalways, and habits of thinking, feeling, and acting involved in satisfying the basic needs which structure the institution. Perhaps *ethos of the institution* contains the meaning here ascribed to *ideology*.

These criteria can be stated positively by saying a society is healthy to the degree that all of its institutions adequately satisfy the basic human (cultural) needs, have internally consistent ideologies, and are har-

moniously related to all the other institutions so as to use the available resources most efficiently while making rapid and adequate adjustments to changing conditions.

Without falling into the fallacy of sentimental optimism about the primacy of the family, it appears to be the healthiest institution in our society, with the possible exception of science and social work. The family has many sociopathic symptoms, to be sure, but most of them are directly or indirectly produced by sociopathy in the other institutions, notably in the economic and political institutions, which are perhaps the most sociopathic in present-day culture.

One of the most serious internal stresses in the family is the sentimental pessimism which holds that the family is on the verge of dissolution. Much of this "break-down" thesis stems from the internal struggle to make healthy adaptation to external social changes. The charges of "break-down" are the despairing wail of those in bondage to the past, unadjusted to the present, and fearful of the emergent future.

Actually, the family has made more rapid and more adequate adjustments to the unsettling changes of the past century than any other major institution. It has greater internal consistency in its ideals and practices, less conflict and sociopathic interference with other institutions, and more consensus regarding its goals, structures, and functions. It has greatly improved the efficiency with which it operates and cooperates with the other institutions.

The basic universal needs of the family institution are management of the sex impulse, rearing of children, and providing the intimate socializing experiences we call love and affection. In our culture the monogamic family, including sexual fidelity for life, responsible care of children, mutual aid, love, and respect between the family members, is on a much sounder basis than was the case a hundred years ago.

Prostitution is much more widely condemned and great progress has been made toward its elimination. Maternal and infant mortality has been greatly reduced. Children are better fed, housed, clothed, educated, and cared for medically than ever before. Young people are better prepared for the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood. Sound sex education and mental hygiene are becoming factual realities. Planned parenthood is becoming the rule for more and more people in all social classes and religions. People stay married because they like it, not because they fear the wrath of God or public condemnation. Desertion, separation, and gross neglect have greatly diminished. It is not a utopian dream to expect a marked decrease in divorce within the next fifty years.

Most sociopathic aspects of the family are being attacked more realistically, with more intellectual honesty, with less interference by vested interests, and consequently with greater cooperative effort to arrive at workable solutions, than is true of the attacks upon the sociopathic aspects of the other institutions, bedeviled as they are by irrational fears and special interests. In general, the outlook for the family is more encouraging than that of the economic and political institutions.

The concept of sociopathy is coordinate with biopathy and psychopathy. It is not an analogy or a figure of speech. Societal structures are as "real" as biological or psychological structures. The concept of sociopathic (and biopathic) behavior is based on functional (or malfunctional) symptoms. The etiology of sociopathy is as complex and as capable of analysis and therapy as is the etiology and therapy of biopathic behavior. Empirical and experimental knowledge and the scientific evaluation of its application are necessary and possible in both cases.

A man may be biologically ill and yet be psychologically and societally healthy. He also may be biologically and psychologically healthy ("normal") but societally sociopathic. The common assumption that a socially maladjusted person must also be biologically and/or psychologically ill, or "abnormal," can easily be shown to be false, though it is true that all three types of pathology are often interrelated.

Finally, it can be shown that many currently approved types of societal behavior are clearly sociopathic according to the criteria stated above. Many "symptoms" once regarded as "normal" or "trivial" are now easily recognized by specialists as signs of dangerous biopathy and psychopathy. As the social sciences increase their store of valid generalizations, the same will become increasingly true of societal behavior.

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PLANNING

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Social planning has become an established part of American culture and an accepted function of government from the local to the national level. Social planning is today variously defined both by administrators and by social analysts. These definitions have grown out of past theory and practical experimentation. In the earlier interpretation, social planning was largely confined to cities and was frequently referred to as city or urban planning and, to a degree, was limited in content to control of land usage. Zoning was a means both of supporting a city plan and of directing its pattern. Today, it means group planning or planning for and by groups. Increasingly it involves all aspects of social activity such as political, recreational, welfare (or social security), educational, and economic phases. Regulation of land has expanded in meaning to cover both urban and rural districts and to include manufacturing, commercial, residential, and agricultural uses.

It is true that much of social planning is replanning, but new subdivisions and even new cities are being developed according to a blueprint and new social and political agencies are being created. All planning seeks to achieve certain propagandized goals by procedures as outlined. Sometimes the process is one of leaps and bounds with gaps ignored. Occasionally, it may be more or less arbitrary and authoritarian. Perhaps it follows, in part, a democratic and logical method. The social scientist sees social planning as beginning with research into the resources and problems to be discovered in a given area occupied by a given population at a given time. It is then carried on through analysis and comparison of data to the formulation of a plan or plans, to the choice of a particular plan, the outlining of methods to implement its details, and, finally, its adoption by the community.

If the democratic process is interwoven into the planning process, a citizens' advisory committee is set up officially to serve as a liaison link between the elected or appointed officials and the citizens who are the primary reasons for the plan who benefit or suffer as a result of its program, and who provide, in the long run, the moneys for the support of both voluntary and legally instituted projects. The democratic process assumes that as the plan takes shape, the citizens are informed of its step-by-step articulation and are stimulated to debate, to argue, and to challenge each proposition. It is not futile if the proponents of the measures

consult the citizens and give consideration to their ideas. As these views are proved effective, the experts would modify the original formulation. Finally, if the people are given opportunity to vote on the adoption or rejection of the completed plans, their knowledge of the details makes possible a more intelligent decision.

But the process is not concluded with the adoption of the plans; their results are subsequently checked by further research. Indicated modifications are made, with the citizens' committee continuing with its lay opinions to balance the professional enthusiasm of the experts. Provision is usually made for both immediate and long-term objectives. Certainly the planners need to keep ahead of developments, that is, to anticipate change with new plans. At the same time, they need to keep within reach of the citizenry and not go so fast that the long-range view is stretched too far into the unknown future and the citizens become both confused and discouraged.

The sociologist is a student of men in association. He is alert to the need for discovering the influences that play upon them, changing their patterns of personality and modifying the constituent elements of their culture. The sociologist sees life as an ever-changing kaleidoscopic set of phenomena expressed through the interrelationships of men to each other —person to person; person to the group; and group to group; friendly, unfriendly, competitive, conflicting, cooperative. These contacts do not take place in a vacuum but in a physical or geographical setting and within the framework of varying traditions, customs, and institutions. Social plans, as they are implemented, inevitably affect the conditions under which men meet and, in degree, modify the character of their fellowship and their joint activities. In turn, these changes affect the values and attitudes of people and so influence the emerging personality patterns, both those which are set up as standards to be admired and perchance followed and those that eventuate as people are born, live, and mature.

Planning is nothing new either for individuals or for groups as they undertake to look ahead to anticipate change and to guide its direction or content. The sociologist may perhaps make some contribution to the logic underlying the process as his assumptions are tested both through investigation and administration. Perhaps, his contribution may have practical results in the utilization of considered theory and principle by professional planners.

Categorically, the sociologist has developed certain conclusions based upon both quantitative and qualitative research. These findings are, of course, subject to revision as greater knowledge is achieved. At the

present time, however, it may be said that sociological theories and concepts are applicable to social planning in the following areas of "the science of human relationships."

1. *An understanding of people.* Sociology emphasizes the associative character of human society, and it is the social nature of individuals that is of particular import. Men live, work, play, and fight in groups. They do not live alone. Relationships are dynamic, never static, though they may sometimes seem to be so. A knowledge of groups and of the social processes is fundamental to all phases and steps in planning.

It is not possible to understand people merely by studying their anatomy, their biochemistry, their individual psychology, or their appearance, or by the quantitative analysis of their number, variation, and distribution in the country. The facts discovered in these fields may be helpful, but they are not all-inclusive. It is necessary also to know how people react to each other, how they affect and are affected by other people and by both their individual and joint endeavors; whether they are generous-minded or prejudiced; whom they are following as leaders and in what direction they are being led. These are vital facts, helpful in all phases and steps in planning.

2. *A knowledge of community.* It is not enough to know only resources, natural and developed—economic, cultural, and social—and the problems that beset a community. True, it is desirable that problems and resources should be catalogued. More important is the evaluation of the relationship between them and of the adequacy or the inadequacy of the resources to deal with the problems. But the research is incomplete without inquiry into the local culture pattern and current modes of behavior. What are the ways of doing and thinking that are regarded as admirable? What are considered harmful or even disgraceful? What has been the history of the community? The conditions under which it was settled? The crises through which it has passed and the ways in which these difficult times were met? What are its future hopes?

The community is not simply the addition of all the factors resulting in a given sum. It is much more involved. It is a complex of land, of people with their drives and goals, of their efforts to achieve these goals, and of the institutions and agencies they evolve. How have natural resources been developed? How do people earn their living? What are their family patterns: housing, daily routine, attitudes toward marriage, divorce, children? What do they do for a good time? How do they protect their health? These are only a few of the concerns of a scientific study.

Perhaps one of the more important phases is the attitudes of the people toward problems. What do they consider social problems and how would they deal with them? Are they complacent and believe they have no difficulties? Are they overwhelmed by them and believe there are no solutions? Are they confident that if the problems are let alone, some answers will somehow be forthcoming?

The sociologist points out that no matter with what problem the plan is primarily concerned, sooner or later it must consider the interrelations of all problems and resources. In other words, the sociologist is convinced that any community is, as MacIver so succinctly says, "the complex web of social unity."[1] So, for instance, lacks in the educational facilities are integrally related to the economic, the political, and the recreational inadequacies and adequacies. The changes in size and composition and in the spatial distribution of the people and the anticipated number of children in different age groups are also important. Certainly, it would seem at least extravagant to spend millions on a school system in a community whose future presents the possibility of rapid and perhaps drastic downward trend in the school population. Prediction, on the factual basis of research into the totality of assets and liabilities, is seen by the sociologist as a basic underpinning of social planning.

3. *A comprehension of current social organization.* In analyzing social change, the sociologist has drawn two tentative conclusions of importance to social planners. Traditional social organization, with its more or less stereotyped patterns of law and government, education, religion, ways of earning a living, and family, has been supplemented by other formalized services, sometimes closely interlinked with and actually growing out of these five basic social institutions but considered as somehow special and distinctive. These are recreation, health, the arts, the sciences, and welfare (more frequently today referred to as social security and private philanthropy). But this is not the complete picture.

In American culture today are innumerable voluntary groupings of people ranging all the way from a Heart Association to fraternal societies and card clubs. But many of these groups are difficult to locate geographically. A number of like-minded people, who enjoy each other and doing things together, meet wherever time and the means of transportation make it convenient. These are "communalities,"[2] groups that may be highly flexible in membership, with few ties to hold them to-

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[1] R. M. MacIver, *Community: A Sociological Study* (new ed.) (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 34.

[2] B. A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1929), p. 109.

gether; or they may have some definite organizational pattern. They are important because they give clues to personal values and also because they furnish centers of activity which both influence personality and are influenced by it. This statement brings us to the fourth contribution of the sociologist.

4. *Insight into the meaning of personality.* Personality is an intricate functioning unity into which have entered the innate possibilities with which the individual is born—biological, mental, and physical. It is dynamic and responsive to many social and geographical influences. Heredity and environment do not necessarily pull in opposite directions. The environment tends to stimulate into expression those possibilities which are congenial to it. Probably, no one ever develops all of his potentialities. The sociologist recognizes the need for understanding the influence of the many and varied environmental factors on individual patterns and for promoting those plans which afford more opportunities for human development and social growth.

In the complex, largely urban society of today, and especially in the larger cities within which people are so widely scattered, men come to know each other only in the limited range of particular associations. They do not know each other "all round the clock" as tended to be true in the little town and the rural areas. This intimate knowledge of the person was the result of observed behavior enhanced by the powerful help of gossip. Today, the good neighbor is "the person who lets us alone and minds his own business." Because in the city men tend to be known to each other only "compartmentally," only through specific contacts, the inevitable consequence is the emphasis on "front." "Snap judgments" are the criteria for evaluating a new acquaintance. All of these facts mean that men tend to see only certain facets of each other's personality. This situation opens the way for the increasing use of stereotypes of human beings, and these in turn either promote or discourage friendliness. For example: if "Negro" is associated with a pleasant experience, however casual, the person will tend to react favorably to an individual Negro. But, on the other hand, if "Negro" calls to mind a disagreeable occurrence, the reaction to a Negro will tend to be unfavorable. Of course, it is not as simple and easy of explanation as these illustrations would make it; yet it may seem to be so. For out of the social stuff of human contacts of every kind are woven the patterns of both individual and group relations, reinforced by the teaching of children by adults and by the traditional attitudes to be found in the community and its varied means of social control.

What does all of this mean to the planner? Plans should be designed for the particular area and its people. It cannot be assumed that a theoretical plan, perhaps desirable in itself, will necessarily fit the special needs of the locality under study. For example: inquiry may well be made into any plans for recreation centers which are designed to bring people of a given neighborhood together. Much money may be involved in the purchase of land and the building of the facility, not to mention salaries for administration. If it is true that increasing numbers of people in larger cities go outside their local neighborhood to seek and find their associates and friends, then certainly inquiry should be made into the number of people and groups who would use such a center. The social scientist has discovered thus far in his investigations that the local area serves little children, mothers (at certain times of the day), and older people who are not inclined to travel far from home. But youth and younger adults will travel as far as the time at their disposal and the available means of transportation permit, to be with their own kind for adventure and new experience.

Another important consideration is the type of leadership training that is being given to children. It is of vital importance in a democracy that relationships within the communalities shall be democratic and not under the guidance of even an accepted "dictator" who develops his power suavely and always under the guise of promoting good times and the welfare of the participants. It is probably not possible to inventory all the communalities, but perhaps some effort can be made in this direction. Subsequently, meetings of their leaders could be held to promote democratic leadership and constructive training of youth, two important means of continuing democracy.

5. *A recognition of the social significance of values.* The sociologist has defined personality as a dynamic organization of attitudes and values. Values are the things the person wants or wishes to avoid or escape. From one point of view they are the goals he seeks. His attitudes are indicative of the way he feels about these things and are evident in his behavior relative to them. Doob points out that "the basic problem of planning is the determination of desirable values . . ."[3] Unless concrete plans are linked with both individual and group purposes, they will receive only a half-hearted acceptance or even rejection. Research is especially necessary to find out, if possible, the objectives (values) and the attitudes of the people for whom the planning is being undertaken. Beyond this fact

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[3] Leonard W. Doob, *The Plans of Men* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 11.

may well be noted the degree of democratic participation in the shaping of the projects.

6. *An appreciation of the interrelatedness of all factors and the "gestalt" nature of the social process.* The sociologist directs attention to the fact of the interaction of all the elements which have been briefly presented. No community can be understood in terms of a single factor; hence there can be no one plan, no panacea, to solve problems and promote welfare. Even the simplest-appearing social phenomenon is highly complex. These are dogmatic-sounding statements, but the sociologist believes they are verifiable facts. Many plans have tended to be ineffective because of the failure to see the social picture whole. The sociologist believes that people are more alike than they are different; consequently, that the proposed measures should be based upon common human needs and at the same time should make provision for those opportunities that may develop and strengthen individual capacities. Democracy does not need to fear the person who is uniquely different in his outlook and possible skills so long as he is imbued with the ideal of service, that is, the use of his talents for the good of all men.

The sociologist sees all of life as an integrated process. Into it enter all of the factors and forces noted above—land and its resources or lack of them; people, all kinds of people, all ages, all cultures; defined and nebulous goals; activities; associations; institutions. Because all of these aspects should be explored scientifically by the most refined research techniques, planners need to be well trained not only professionally and technically but sociologically as well. Planning is in the last analysis a method of social control, channeling (perhaps limiting) social functioning. It is freighted with responsibility in terms of its projection into the future as well as in the application of its design in the present.

Both professional planners and lay citizens are engaged in joint stratagems for personal good or ill, for democracy or paternalism. The expansion of planned programs into many fields and over extended territory warrants careful scrutiny of content, methods, and results to insure the continuing practice of participation of the citizens in the deliberate shaping of the social and geographical milieu.

# THE POPULAR MEANING GF
# CLASS DESIGNATION*

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Students of social stratification have followed popular usage in referring to upper, middle, and lower classes. Warner[1] has not deviated from popular usage in splitting each of these classes into an upper and lower category. Because of this close relationship between scholarly and popular usage, scholars have considered it valuable to find out the popular meaning of these class designations. The approach thus far has been largely in terms of asking people to indicate their own class—which we may call the method of "class identification."[2]

There is another approach to the popular meaning of class designation. This is through the device of asking respondents to designate the class positions of other persons, rather than themselves, and then getting the respondents to give their impressions of these persons or otherwise getting information which purports to be factual about the persons. Warner and his associates[3] used this approach in their study of "Jonesville." They got a number of respondents to place the population of the town into six predesignated classes (a score of "Evaluated Participation" was derived from this for each individual). Then they accumulated "objective" information about the population and found high correlations between the designated class ("Evaluated Participation" score) of individuals and their objective characteristics of occupation, amount of income, source of income, house type, dwelling area, and education. The multiple correla-

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1 W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

2 Polls taken by Gallup, *Fortune* magazine, Cantril, and Centers use the method of class identification, but do not arrive at comparable findings, since Centers finds that social classes are popularly recognized to be distinct in the United States, while the three other writers suggest that their findings indicate that classes are merely heuristic terms utilized by the scholar to divide up a continuous status hierarchy. G. Gallup and S. F. Rae, *The Pulse of Democracy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1940); *Fortune*, 21:21 ff., February 1940; Hadley Cantril, "Identification with Social and Economic Class," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38:74-80, January 1943; Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

3 W. L. Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949); W. L. Warner et al., *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949).

tion between these six variables and the index of designated class was so high that the multiple regression equation could be quite adequately used to predict the designated class of individuals from a knowledge of how they stood on the six variables. A study by J. G. Darley, C. Bird, G. Hochbaum, and E. D. Monachesi[4] shows that the objective variables for a representative sample of adult males in Minneapolis have much lower intercorrelations than they do for Warner's sample of the small town of "Jonesville." This finding raises the question whether class is such a clear-cut, distinctive matter in a large city as Warner found it to be in the small town he studied.

This paper reports a pilot study using some variations of the method of asking respondents to designate the class positions of others. Some of our variables are different from those Warner used, thus extending the measured areas into which correlations with designated class are reported. And we are able to offer evidence that classes are not sharply separable social groupings in people's thinking, whereas Warner assumes they are. The samples used in our study are representative of only limited populations, and the samples are of such limited size as to permit only a few statistically significant conclusions. The findings are suggestive, and the techniques used ought to have wider applicability. As part of our increasing knowledge about stratification it is important for us to use every means to obtain a picture of what varying groups in the population mean by the specific class designations. It would seem that a knowledge of class *designation* is as important in understanding "class consciousness" and the psychology of social classes as is a knowledge of class *identification,* to which so much research has already been devoted.

The first questions to be posed are: What income level do respondents have in mind when they make class designations? and To what extent are variations in the income level a function of the proportion of the population estimated to be in the designated class? The data were provided by officers of 110 groups constituting a rough cross-section of voluntary associations of all types in Minneapolis and St. Paul.[5] One of the officers providing information was always the executive secretary,

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4 "Stratification in Minneapolis," unpublished paper.

5 As full a list of associations as could be obtained, using a variety of sources, was stratified into types of associations according to purpose and a random sample was drawn from each category. Of the original sample of 144 associations, only 5 refused to cooperate and this may have biased the sample. Dropped from the original sample but probably not constituting a biasing influence were 3 organizations that were known to have gone out of existence, 8 which could not be located and so could be presumed to have gone out of existence, 8 that turned out to be private companies or governmental agencies, and 10 whose officers resided out of the Twin Cities.

executive director, or other person most closely associated with the functioning of the association; in 77 of the 110 organizations information was also provided by another elected officer, usually the president.[6] Information was collected in the spring of 1951 by means of an interview using preformulated schedules, the interviewers being trained graduate or senior undergraduate students. The two questions asked which concern us at the moment were:

"About what proportion of your total membership belongs in each of the following income classes?"[7]

|         upper |    upper middle |    lower middle |        lower |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1........income | 2........income | 3........income | 4........income |

"What would be the average income per year in each of these four classes?"

$.................        $.................        $.................        $.................

The averages and quartile deviations of those responding to the question about average income per year for each of the designated classes are indicated in Table 1. The averages are sharply different from each other, but the percentage distributions show a good deal of overlap. Thus it can be said, for this sample of respondents, that there is distinct discrimination in the estimated income of the designated classes on the average, but there is so much variation that a minority of respondents would place persons of a given income in a different income class than would another minority of respondents. At the extreme, the overlap is such that 24.8 per cent of the respondents would, for example, designate people with $6,000 income as lower middle class, while 19.5 per cent of the respondents would designate people with $5,000 or less income as upper middle class.

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[6] While there were 187 respondents, there is a significant amount of nonresponse in answers to our questions. Part of this nonresponse is a function of the character of the question, and does not constitute a bias: If the respondent's estimate of the proportion of his association in a given class was zero, he would legitimately not indicate an income figure typical of that class. But a large minority of respondents felt unable or unwilling to answer either or both of these questions, or gave answers so vague as to be unusable, and this lack of response is a limitation on our type of study. It does not negate the conclusions, however, since the conclusions are of the kind that are not influenced by a biased sample.

[7] It is to be noted that the question is worded in terms of "income class" rather than "class" generally or "social class." Cantril (op. cit.) found that a person's identification of his social class was frequently higher than that of his income class, and the same may be true for the designation of other people's social class and income class.

The data show even more startling variations in conception of what the income characteristics of a class are. As mentioned, for some of the organizations there were two informants, each making an independent judgment on the class distribution of the members of the organization and on the average income of each class. The two leaders of the same organization often failed to agree. The difference between the two informants in the percentage of members said to be in each class is almost as large as the average percentages assigned to each class, so that the higher figure is almost 100 per cent higher than the lower of the two figures, on the average.[8] The dollar income differences are not quite as great, except for the upper income class, but are nevertheless very large

### TABLE 1

CENTRAL TENDENCIES AND QUARTILE DEVIATIONS OF INCOME
ESTIMATES ASSIGNED TO PERSONS OF DESIGNATED CLASSES

| | Income Estimates for Persons in the Following Designated Classes | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Upper Income | Upper Middle Income | Lower Middle Income | Lower Income |
| Mean income | $21,568 | $11,024 | $4,991 | $3,557 |
| Median income | 14,584 | 7,886 | 4,750 | 3,432 |
| Quartile deviation | 11,452 | 3,748 | 1,173 | 684 |
| Number of cases | 95 | 123 | 109 | 88 |

(ranging from $1,070 for the lower income class to $17,570 for the upper income class). Further, there is no consistent relationship whereby one of the pair tends to give a higher percentage to a class but attribute a lower income to it; this was true for 52 per cent of the pairs but not true for 48 per cent of the pairs.

The large variation in what is considered to be average income within each of the designated classes raises the question as to whether the variation is a function of the proportion of the members of the association perceived to be in the designated classes. Table 2 provides data to indicate that this is the case: Respondents reporting more than 5 per cent in the upper class attribute a higher income to the upper class than do respondents who report less than 5 per cent in the upper class. Similarly, respondents reporting more than 5 per cent in the lower class attribute a

8 These data support a criticism made by Lipset and Bendix of the Warner study—that various people in a community (or an organization, in our case) do not agree on the class designation of its members. Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Status and Social Structure: A Re-examination of Data and Interpretations," *The British Journal of Sociology,* 2:150-68, June 1951.

lower income to the lower class than do respondents who report less than 5 per cent in the lower class. In approximately the same way, in the two middle classes, the higher the proportion of members attributed to the class, the more the income attributed to the class approaches the name of the class. The partial exception occurs in the upper middle class where the line of difference is not straight. This finding suggests one important source of bias in designating class—the amount of experience or contact one has had with members of the different classes. People who do not know many upped-class people do not attribute to them as high an income as do those who know more upper-class people, and people who do not know many lower-class people do not attribute them to as law an income as do those who know more lower-class people. Presumably, if acquaintance were broader, class designations would be more consistent and there would be less overlap in the average income attributed to the different designated classes.

Consideration may now be given to the socioeconomic correlates of class designation. Students in three undergraduate courses in sociology at the University of Minnesota during the Winter quarter, 1951, filled in questionnaires which asked, among many other questions, "What socioeconomic class would you say your parents are in?"[9] The possible

## TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP OF PERCEIVED PROPORTION IN DESIGNATED CLASSES
AND AVERAGE INCOME ATTRIBUTED TO THOSE CLASSES

|  | Class and Perceived Proportion of Members in Class | Average of "Average Income" Specified | Number of Persons Giving Usable Response |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper income | Less than 5 per cent.......... | $17,667 | 30 |
|  | 5 per cent or more............ | 23,369 | 65 |
| Upper middle income | Less than 25 per cent........ | 9,500 | 41 |
|  | 25-44 per cent.................. | 12,564 | 39 |
|  | 45 per cent or more........... | 11,081 | 43 |
| Lower middle income | Less than 35 per cent........ | 5,271 | 35 |
|  | 35-54 per cent.................. | 5,163 | 40 |
|  | 55 per cent or more........... | 4,500 | 34 |
| Lower income | Less than 5 per cent.......... | 3,794 | 17 |
|  | 5 per cent or more............ | 3,500 | 71 |

9 Following the question was this note, "If parents are dead, indicate what class they were in just before they died."

responses to be checked were the familiar categories of Warner: "upper upper class," "lower upper class," "upper middle class," "lower middle class," "upper lower class," "lower lower class." The students were also asked to have both of their parents fill in other questionnaires, which included several questions relevant to the content of socioeconomic class. Only those questionnaires were used in cross-tabulations for which one or both parents were alive, able, and willing to return the completed questionnaires. Thus the cases to be reported on should not be considered a representative sample, even of the parents of students of a large state university, although there is no known relationship between nonresponse in these cases and socioeconomic status. Our interest in the cases, however, consists not in generalizing from the sample as a whole but in comparing parents classified by their student offspring as being in the upper middle class with the parents described by their student offspring as being in the lower middle class.[10]

Each parent was asked to designate his exact occupation, and the occupations were classified into the seven categories of the Minnesota Occupational Scale.[11] Where parents were designated as upper middle class, fathers were in all occupational categories but those of slightly skilled labor and day labor. Where parents were designated as lower middle class, fathers were in all occupational categories but day laborers and retail business. The noteworthy fact is that 10.3 per cent of the fathers in professional, semiprofessional, and managerial occupations were designated by their college-student children as lower middle class, although there is a statistically significant difference—at the 5 per cent level—between the two classes in the proportion in the professional category and in the proportion in the semiprofessional and managerial category. There is also a statistically significant difference between the two classes in the semiskilled (13.4 as compared with 30.7%) and slightly skilled (0.0 as compared with 20.5%) categories. For mothers, the only statistically significant difference is in the total proportion working. These differences are in the expected direction, but the data indicate that there is no sharp distinction made between upper middle and lower middle class even by so homogeneous a segment of the population as college students taking courses in sociology.

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10 The sample is small: Of those designated as upper middle class, 52 fathers and 56 mothers responded; of those designated as lower middle class 39 fathers and 53 mothers responded. Mothers not only voluntarily responded better than fathers, but more of them were alive to respond. Five students, whose parents were in either professional or semiprofessional, placed their parents in the upper lower class. No students placed their parents in the lower lower class.

11 For a description of this scale, see F. Goodenough and J. E. Anderson, *Experimental Child Study* (New York: Century Co., 1931), pp. 234-38, 501-12.

Differences between the classes are sharper in respect to the educational achievement of the parents than in respect to the occupations of parents, especially in the case of the fathers. Over 43 per cent of lower-middle-class fathers have not gone beyond grade school as compared with only 12 per cent of upper-middle-class fathers. The discrepancy is not quite so great in the case of mothers (21 as compared with 9%), partly because the mothers report themselves as having had a higher level of educational attainment generally than did the fathers. Despite the sharp educational differences between the two designated classes, it should be noted that a minority of parents designated as lower middle class did graduate from college (17% as compared with 34% among upper-middle-class parents).

Certain other indices of the content of class designation may be drawn from our data. One question to mothers asked if they had someone to help them with the housework, and if so, whom. The data show that there are no significant differences between parents designated as upper middle class (15.8%) and those designated as lower middle class (13.2 %) in the proportion having servants. Perhaps this reflects the decline in the use of servants by moderately well-to-do housewives. The same lack of significant difference is found in the proportions having household assistance from related members of the family (22.9 as compared with 28.3%). Class differences among those participating in organizations and activities are suggested by the data, however. Differences among men of the two classes, statistically significant at least at the 5 per cent level, are in membership in labor or farm organizations (15.4% for upper middle as compared with 35.9% for the lower middle class) and service clubs (17.3 as compared with 5.1%), in directing or assisting a social welfare organization (44.2 as compared with 15.4%) and in participating in athletics (19.2 as compared with 2.6%). The first two reflect occupational differences, but the third and fourth point up distinctive class differences. Among women, there is greater propensity for those in the upper middle class to join alumnae associations (15.9 as compared with 1.9%) and for those in the lower middle class to join church groups (36.8 as compared with 49.1%). While these differences reveal something of the content of class designations, it should also be recognized that with respect to participation in most types of organizations and activities there is very little difference between the classes. This does not mean that if specific organizations were studied there would not appear sharp class cleavages in their composition. What it does mean is simply

that, except for the differences noted, the types of organizations and activities participated in by members of the two designated classes are not too different.

*Conclusion.* While the samples on which this study is based are neither large nor representative enough to allow extensive generalization, the findings and methods of the study have value for extending knowledge about the popular conception of class designation. The method is to get a respondent to designate the class of another person or persons, and then to get factual or impressionistic information about the latter person or persons from the original respondent or from the persons described. The study is conceived of as a step in acquiring information about class designation, as distinguished from class identification, when both can be considered as factors in class consciousness. Significant and revealing average differences in the popular meaning of the various classes are pointed out by our study, even in respect to the distinction between classes so close together as "upper middle" and "lower middle." There is, however, a good deal of overlap, indicating a lack of consensus even among fairly homogeneous groups in our population. Thus, for the limited sample studied, classes could not be said to be perceived as discrete and clearly separable social groupings.[12]

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[12] This conclusion complements the finding of the study of stratification in Minneapolis, by J. G. Darley, C. Bird, G. Hochbaum, and E. D. Monachesi, that the objective variables of Warner's Index of Status Characteristics have relatively low intercorrelations as compared with those found by Warner in the small town of "Jonesville."

# THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT
# IN ISRAEL

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It is essential to distinguish between the cooperatives and the trade union enterprises in Israel. The latter include factories and workshops, mercantile and financial undertakings which are either fully or partly owned and are administered by the Federation of Jewish Labour, that is, the Histadruth. The Histadruth enterprises are registered as limited companies and not as cooperatives. The workers in these Histadruth undertakings are members of the Hevrath Ovdim, the apex organization of the labor cooperative movement which was organized in 1922. In some of these Histadruth enterprises all or part of the workers are organized as labor contracting cooperatives without, however, being part owners of the means of the production or having any voice in the management or in decisions of major policies.

I will confine myself to the 2,400 Jewish cooperatives in Israel at the end of 1951, of which over 1,800 are affiliated with 10 cooperative unions. There are also about 100 Arab societies. The Government and the Histadruth are continuing in their efforts to organize additional Arab societies. There is one cooperative for every 600 Jews. The estimated membership of the 2,400 Jewish cooperatives is 400,000. Since many farmers and others are members of more than one cooperative, the 400,000 members include only about 250,000 individuals, or nearly 40 per cent of all wage earners in Israel. The Jewish cooperatives have 40 million pounds in capital and reserves and use about 100 million pounds of borrowed funds. In 1951 their total business is estimated at 200 million pounds.

The membership of the cooperatives is sometimes divided into consumers and producers. In Israel 80 per cent of all members fall within the first group, i.e., consumers who have organized distributive or consumers' societies, credit unions, housebuilding and houseowning societies, and provident and pension funds—about 1,200 in all. The other 20 per cent of all the members are producers who have joined workers' productive transportation and service societies, agricultural, purchasing, marketing, and service cooperatives, and *kibbutzim*—altogether about 1,200 cooperatives.

There is much criticism of the producer group of cooperatives. The 46 transportation cooperatives, with 5,000 workers, half of whom are members who are the sole owners of these societies, which enjoy almost a monopoly of the interurban and intraurban bus service, handle two thirds of the goods traffic by road and almost all of the haulage to and from the ports. Many consumers feel that the transportation cooperatives charge excessive fares and fees and complain about the services being poor and the attitude of the chauffeur owners, who are often discourteous. This negative attitude of consumers is less prevalent regarding the workers' productive societies, about 400, which have about 5,000 member workers and 3,000 wage laborers. The 8,000 members and workers in these cooperative-owned and -managed workshops include 3,000 immigrants who have come to Israel since 1948. The agricultural marketing societies are blamed by a part of the consuming public for the inflationary prices and for the unsatisfactory distribution of the agricultural products. The consumers are not sufficiently organized to press their demand for representation in the management and policy fixing in the producers' cooperatives. The consumers also forget that the black-marketing and the exploitation of the consumers probably would be far more serious if organized cooperative marketing did not centralize three fourths of the agricultural produce marketed. Such a large percentage of cooperative marketing is possible because agriculture in Israel is essentially a small-unit business.

In Israel about 100 urban and rural credit cooperatives have over 200,000 members from all strata—settled population and immigrants from all countries, workers, black-coat class, middle class, and larger merchants and industrialists. They have over 3 million pounds capital and reserves and 30 million in deposits. In 1951 they made loans for 30 million pounds to 120,000 members. The losses of the credit cooperatives in bad debts over three decades have been infinitesimal. The policy has been good to encourage the existing credit cooperatives to open branches rather than to organize and register new credit unions. While it may have been more difficult to train suitable management for new societies, the active participation of more members would have been insured if the credit unions were smaller and more homogeneous. Half of the 200,000 members are concentrated in seven credit unions and their branches. One credit union—Tel Aviv, Jaffa—reports over 41,000 members. The average indebtedness per debtor of credit unions is about one eighth that of debtors to banks in Israel. Credit unions are primarily,

but not solely, for the small man and have facilitated in the economic absorption of tens of thousands of small men from the 685,000 immigrants who have arrived since May 1948.

Self-labor is an underlying principle of cooperatives in smallholders' settlements—*moshavim*. The members of these cooperative farming groups may use wage labor only in emergencies and only with the approval of the board of management. This principle is not rigidly enforced at present. There is little or no joint or cooperative farming in these moshavim. The farmers plow and sow their fields and harvest their crops. But all the members of the moshavim must market their products cooperatively and purchase all of their requisites from the cooperatives; they must participate in the cooperatives for agricultural machinery, irrigation, and other services. Generally speaking, the new immigrants prefer individual farming to cooperative farming and living in kibbutzim. Also in the case of the moshavim for immigrants as in the case of the workers' productive and service societies and consumer cooperatives organized *for* and not *by* the immigrants, problems and doubts have arisen about their future. Whether the usual orthodox procedure of organizing cooperatives from the bottom could have been used effectively, in view of the race with time, is one of the many cooperative problems which have to be studied.

Much has been written about the *kibbutz* form of life, which is a collective type* as distinguished from a Rochdale cooperative. The collective owns everything, and the members, in general meetings, decide on all major policies. "To each according to his needs" continues to be the way of life. The estimated population in the 220 kibbutzim is 67,000, as compared with 63,000 in 1948. Only about 15 per cent of the 50,000 immigrants who have passed through the kibbutzim since May 1948 have remained. The reservoirs of new recruits for the kibbutzim have been much depleted. It is premature to make a prognosis about the role which the kibbutzim will play in the state or of the extent of changes which may have to be introduced in the organic structure of these integral cooperatives.

The 256 Jewish consumers' (distributive) cooperatives, with 100,000 members, the large majority in nonurban areas, centralize half of the "linking cards" in the country and account for one third of all foodstuffs and one half of all agricultural requisites sold. In the case of about one

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*Editor's note: In the American sense, which emphasizes voluntarism as distinguished from group ownership. In some parts of Europe the term *collective* means government sponsorship.

third of these consumer cooperatives which are in immigrant villages and work camps, membership is not, strictly speaking, voluntary, and the management includes nonmembers. Several tens of the immigrant consumer cooperatives already are inactive.

This summary about the cooperative sector points to what Israel is doing to make a reality of Charles Gide's ideal of a world "where everybody will have an equal chance, where nobody will get rich at the expense of another, but where everybody will profit on the achievements of the best. . .Cooperatives can realize such a world, not immediately, and *not* for everybody, but on a small scale inside the cooperative societies which offer their members the possibility to improve their conditions."[1]

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[1] The Chair on Cooperatives in the Hebrew University, established by the Histadruth in Israel and the Jewish Labour Movement in the U.S.A., was inaugurated in May 1951. Cooperation is an elective course for B.A. students in social science, and one course on cooperation is required of M.A. students of economics. One of the projects contemplated for 1952-53 (November-July) is an extensive and intensive study of the cooperative movement in Israel. This study, which will include both the social and the economic aspects of the movement, will, if possible, use graduate students in economics and sociology for the field work. In the course of time, it is hoped that the Chair on Cooperatives of the Hebrew University will be able to make its contribution to some of the problems with which the cooperative movement is confronted in a country in a new world in the making.

# A SOCIAL DISTANCE TEST OF THE
# ETA CASTE OF JAPAN

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Since the end of the war notable changes have occurred in Japanese culture. The pressure of occupation reforms upon a traditionally conservative class-structured society has inevitably resulted in the alteration of long-held attitudes and beliefs, particularly on the part of the younger generation. The resulting changes in individual and group relationships make particularly tempting a study of social distance, while the indigenous social outcast Eta group, practically unknown to the West, is an ideal object of measurement. The material presented here, so far as is known, is the first attempt in Japan to measure attitudes among the majority Japanese population as regards social nearness toward or farness from the historically despised Eta caste minority group, who are ethnically and culturally Japanese. A major purpose in carrying out this study was to ascertain the attitudes of university students with some training in sociology toward the centuries-old Eta caste people, after almost seven years of occupation-inspired changes directed toward a greater appreciation for democracy and human equality.

In November 1952 the members of a sociology class in the Faculty of Literature and Science and one in the Faculty of Education of Yamaguchi National University, Yamaguchi City, Japan, were asked to complete anonymously a questionnaire which included scales of social distance toward the Eta caste.

The technique employed was a modified form of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale,[1] translated into Japanese with modification in wording only for reasons of clarity, tact, and suitability to the Japanese situation. In order to simplify answering for the respondents, who were unfamiliar with this type of questionnaire, a simple "yes" or "no" was requested and the students were instructed to state the reasons for their answers. The statements presented were:

I would be willing to:

    A. Marry a Burakumin.[2]

    B. Join Burakumin clubs and other organizations.

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[1] Emory S. Bogardus, "Measuring Social Distances," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9:299-308, 1925.

[2] Since the term *Eta* is derogatory, they are generally referred to in Japan as *tokushu burakumin* (special community people). *Tokushu* (special), *buraku* (community).

    C. Become a close friend of the Burakumin.

    D. Live in the "special community" as neighbors of Burakumin.

    E. Enter occupations in which only Burakumin work now.

    F. Have Burakumin as visitors in my home.

    G. Admit Burakumin into any school as my classmates.

    H. Have the Burakumin excluded and sent away from Japan.

A total of 54 students, of whom 8 were girls, completed questionnaires. None of these were members of the Eta caste. They ranged in age from 18 to 27 years. In class grouping there were 7 freshmen, 34 sophomores, 9 juniors, and 4 seniors. As for their major fields of study, there were 19 in social studies, 16 in sociology, 7 in English, 6 in Japanese language, 2 in mathematics, 1 each in European philosophy, music, and physical education, and 1 who had not decided upon his major. In general, the students came from middle-class homes in Yamaguchi Prefecture, one of the most conservative states in Japan. A summary of the responses of the subjects is presented in the following table:

ATTITUDES OF JAPANESE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOWARD
THE INDIGENOUS ETA SOCIAL OUTCASTS

| Question | Response | | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | No Reply | Neutral | No Opinion | |
| A | 22 | 31 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 54 |
| B | 28 | 23 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 54 |
| C | 38 | 13 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 54 |
| D | 24 | 25 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 54 |
| E | 20 | 30 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 54 |
| F | 39 | 11 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 54 |
| G | 50 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 54 |
| H | 2 | 47 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 54 |

Inspection of the table shows that social distance seems to have decreased considerably as regards the traditionally strong taboo against marriage with Eta. Of the 22 who said they would be willing to marry an Eta, 9 based their replies on love—"Love is the strongest factor to be considered in making a marriage"—while 4 expressed a belief in human equality—"Democracy advocates a human equality in every life situation." Another 4 students qualified their affirmatives: It depends on the

personality of the Eta person," "If they are not individually inferior,"
"It depends on the situation." Two said, "The new Constitution does
not allow any kind of discrimination," and 3 failed to give any reason.
Fifteen of the 31 who still held to the marriage taboo gave no reason,
while 4 were afraid of public opinion—"My surroundings are opposed
to such marriages." Four others gave cultural differences between them-
selves and Eta as reasons for their negative replies—"The difference in
their culture would make it unsuitable." Two each considered the Eta
as a "meaner, lower social type" and were "just personally prejudiced
against them," 2 qualified their answers, "It depends on who the person
is" and "If the local mores do not forbid it," while 1 girl said, "My
parents would not allow it."

A favorable attitude is represented toward associating with Eta as
members of their clubs and other organizations. Although 12 gave no
reason for saying they would join such associations, 16 of the 28 said
they would do so because "There is no particular reason for their rejec-
tion," "Through such participation I will expose social injustice against
them," "It will help me to broaden my social knowledge about them,"
"The Constitution makes all Japanese equal," "It will help me show
how wrong prejudice is." Others said they would join if they could
agree with the aims of such organizations, if they were clubs useful in
helping to improve Japanese society, or if such organizations had high
ideals. Twenty-three were unwilling to affiliate with Eta organizations
because "I fear their aggressive attitude," "I am personally prejudiced
against them," "They are mean and socially inferior people," "All of
my friends would stop associating with me." Seven gave no reason for
their refusal, while the one neutral respondent said, "I don't know any-
thing about their organizations."

Positive acceptance of the Eta as close personal friends is significantly
strong, with 38 of the respondents agreeing to such a relationship. How-
ever, 10 of these would do so only "If they are honorable," "If they
accept me with good will," "If I like the person individually"; 14 made
no comment. Others said, "They are the same as other Japanese," "It
will help me eliminate the caste from our society," "It will help to
broaden me as a person," "I don't believe in prejudice." More than half,
or 7 of those who rejected the idea of friendship, failed to say why.
Those who did refused because "Their social life is different from mine,"
"I dislike their attitude," "I don't understand those people," "They are
just socially inferior."

Almost half of the subjects, or 24, avowed willingness to live in the segregated Eta communities, but 11 failed to tell why they would live there. Others said that "They are as good as other Japanese," that "There must be no social distinction," and in order "to soften prejudice against them." Among the 25 who are unwilling to move into such a neighborhood, 6 gave no reason, while the others said, "My life would be spoiled," "My standard of living would be lowered," "Because they are mean, low, and brutal people," "The mores and folkways prevent me," "I will have to work in distasteful occupations," "I would be influenced badly," and "I do not like their servile spirit or low mentality."

Since the Eta caste position rests largely on long historical association with occupations considered unclean by other Japanese,[3] the fact that 20 of the students indicated a willingness to accept such jobs indicates a decrease in social distance in these Japanese students. They said: "Such occupations are usually profitable," "These jobs are necessary to the functioning of our society," "To do so will help remove the onus connected with such work," "It will help abolish prejudice against the Eta." There were 30 who still consider traditional Eta jobs as taboo because "I dislike such work," "It is unclean," "My pride won't allow me," "Those jobs are vulgar," "I dislike the Eta, so I dislike their jobs," "Such occupations are not suited to my ability and personality." Only 11 failed to give reasons for answering "yes" or "no" to this question.

There is a strong feeling among these university students in favor of allowing Eta to visit their homes. There were 39 who would do so because "They are as good as other Japanese," "I hope to help remove discrimination against them," "It will help me to know and understand them better," "There must be no discrimination between us Japanese," "I have no feeling of prejudice," "We should not look upon them as different people." Ten gave no reason for not being willing to accept them in their homes. Eleven would still not welcome them because "I don't like them," "It is better for me personally not to have such visitors," "There is something about them I cannot understand," "It is impossible because of public opinion."

The greatest reduction in social distance between Eta and non-Eta is found in the area of education, for here 50 of the 54 students said that the Eta should be admitted to any school in Japan. The 35 who gave reasons said such things as "I believe in equal education for all Japanese," "Through better education they will improve their social and economic

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[3] The Eta have served traditionally as collectors of night soil, butchers, workers in leather goods, animal slaughterers, shoemakers, and hand laborers.

position," "It will help them to become more cultured and refined," "It will help to wipe out discrimination and prejudice against them," "They are the same as all other Japanese and should have equal opportunity," "It will help make for peaceful and better relations with other Japanese," "There should be no educational discrimination in Japan," "Everyone who has a love of learning should have the right to study in any school." Two would segregate the Eta in separate schools on grounds that "They still have a peculiar mentality and attitude" and "I am personally prejudiced against the Eta." Of the two neutral replies, one said, "I still feel they are socially of a lower class, mean, and aggressive people," while the other gave no reason.

Although the Eta are social outcasts, yet they are Japanese in every respect and an awareness of this was strongly evident on the part of the students, for 47 of them were unwilling to have the Eta deported from Japan as a way of solving the caste problem. Among the 41 who supported their stand, some said, "It is unthinkable," "Although I want to drive out caste, this does not mean we must exclude or send away such people," "We could not do such a thing on humanitarian grounds," "We must amalgamate with them," "I would like to send away any person who would suggest such a thing," "We must give up our feelings of prejudice and discrimination, instead of excluding them," "They should never be separated from us," "Their occupations are necessary to society," "They are the same as all other Japanese," "To suggest sending them away would only make for serious disturbances in Japanese society," "A society must be made up of all kinds of people," "It is rather more necessary that Japan improve itself as a democracy, rather than think of excluding the Eta," "It is nonsense to even consider such a thing." Two were in favor of forced emigration simply because "It is better that we do so" and "Although we should not discriminate in this way, I would personally like to exclude them."

From the data here the following general inferences can be drawn as regards the social attitude of these university students toward the Eta: (1) In general, social distance is less than the traditional taboos suggest was the case before the Pacific War. (2) Although there is a significant lessening of attitude toward marriage with the Eta and entering their traditional occupations, majority expression is still against doing either of these things. (3) Opinion is almost evenly divided in regard to taking up residence in the segregated caste communities. (4) A decided majority of the students are willing to join Eta clubs, form friendships with them, and have them visit their homes; and opinion is almost unanimous in

favor of the Eta remaining a part of Japanese society and allowing them to have access to education on terms of equality with all other Japanese.

It should be clearly understood that the findings of this study do not pretend to measure social distance as exhibited and extant among Japanese university students in general. However, this limited survey may suggest possible trends in attitude toward the Eta caste in Japan on the part of students of backgrounds similar to those tested in this research. It may also be compared with future follow-up research in other areas and among other student and nonstudent groups in order to arrive at the increase or reduction of social distance toward Eta.

# THE ROLES OF AN AMERICAN RABBI

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Despite the many roles that any individual may be called upon to play, the chances are that he will have but one occupational role to fulfill. He will have learned to be a doctor or a shopkeeper or a farmer or a civil servant. It is just in this regard that the American rabbi is different. He plays the usual roles that go with an ascribed or an achieved status. Like other people, he is a parent, a citizen, and a member of any number of associations. But occupationally and professionally he has a number of roles that he must fill simultaneously if he is to live up to the expectations of the congregation which he serves. He must be a teacher and scholar, an educator, a preacher, a prayer leader, a pastor, an organizer, an administrator, and an ambassador of good will to the non-Jewish world. In a word, the term *rabbi* is a denotative for a many-roled occupation.

An examination of these several rabbinic roles which the American rabbi must perforce learn reveals that they are in large measure exclusive one of the other. In his role (1) as teacher and scholar the American rabbi of today must link himself with his predecessor of yesterday. He is the exponent of Judaism par excellence, and it is assumed that his training in a rabbinical seminary has so equipped him that he may feel firmly rooted in the tradition of his people and thoroughly schooled in its several disciplines. In this capacity his "students" are usually adults, enrolled as members of a study group, a discussion group, or perhaps a large meeting convened for the purpose of hearing the rabbi present a particular theme. Jewish customs and ceremonies, the Bible, the faith of Israel, or great Jewish books are some of the themes that he chooses to expound. In the context of a broader framework, the American rabbi takes the insight of Judaism as it relates itself to some other philosophy or way of life, be it democracy or communism or existentialism. As a teacher or scholar the rabbi is expected to be at home in the vast range of Jewish knowledge and to be prepared to answer questions as they are posed to him. It may be said that at this point the American rabbi is at one with his forebear. He too is expected to be a Talmid Chacham, a person of erudition. True, the rabbi of the Middle Ages may have been more of a teacher-judge, a communal leader charged with the task of resolving judicial questions judiciously. But though the horizon of the

American rabbi has expanded, his focus as a teacher and scholar is still the same—the exposition of Judaism.

When we come up against the rabbi (2) as educator, we are meeting him in a part that he has but recently acquired. To be a Jewish educator means that aside from a knowledge of Judaism, an individual must be *en rapport* with methods and techniques in the fields of psychology, sociology, education, and language. A religious teacher is expected to be acquainted with the books and audio-visual aid materials and new procedures currently in vogue in the realm of Jewish education. Now while it is true that there are specialists in this particular area of Jewish life, the rabbi as supervisor of an educational system in his congregation is responsible for the program of Jewish education within his domain. In the larger or middle-sized congregation he may delegate this authority to an associate or assistant rabbi or to other educational experts, but, in the final analysis, he is responsible for the success or the shortcomings of the religious school experience. In the smaller congregation the rabbi may be the only teacher; he is indeed the *makri dardakay,* the instructor of children.

The modern and the ancient rabbi are alike in that they were both (3) preachers. But during the long period of the Middle Ages the rabbi surrendered this role to others. There were only two occasions when he reserved preaching for himself—on Shabbas Shuvah, the Sabbath of Penitence, and on Shabbas ha-Godol, the Great Sabbath. Beginning with the Emancipation, however, and continuing to our own day, the preaching role of the rabbi has been one of the most important tasks that he has had to assume. The American rabbi preaches a sermon on the Holy Days, on Friday evening—today the main Sabbath worship service—and occasionally on Saturday morning. Whereas the rabbi of old may have preached on themes stemming directly from an exposition of the Torah, the American rabbi today discusses the problems of his people and his age in the context of the teachings of the Torah tradition. This, of course, is but the natural result of the political and social status of the Jew as a national citizen.

The preaching of the American rabbi takes place in the sanctuary of the synagogue at a religious service which he usually conducts with the assistance of musicians. In the small synagogue the rabbi may discover that the function of serving as cantor likewise falls to him.

As (4) a prayer leader the rabbi reads the liturgy and leads the congregation in group worship. It has been said not without reason that the American rabbi prays for the congregation. The ability to read the

liturgy calls out the spiritual and religious qualities of the rabbi. Here he moves in the world of feeling and emotion, evoking a mood that touches the heartstrings and creates the music of prayer. This too is a modern role. In the past the ordinary layman or perhaps some other religious functionary could have led the congregation in prayer. Speaking of the work of the medieval rabbi, Israel Abrahams in his volume *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* states:[1] "The rabbis themselves were not regular attendants at public worship, and only preached at rare intervals. This was due to their habit of holding semi-public services in their own houses. . . ." Today few indeed are the Jewish laymen who can conduct the religious worship service in the average congregation. This is among the duties of the rabbi as spiritual leader.

Certainly not the least of the roles which the American rabbi must assume is that of pastor. When a youngster is born into a family, if a newcomer moves into the community, at the time of bereavement, whenever there is a personal or family problem, the rabbi is there to congratulate, to bless, to console, to listen, and to counsel. Members of a congregation expect their rabbi to be friendly and interested, and many a member has often been aggrieved when the rabbi failed to visit or to call.

Again the ability to be a good pastor is different from the role of teacher, educator, preacher, and prayer leader. It means that the person who plays this role must be personable and friendly and concerned with the welfare of other people.

Here again we have a discontinuity in the rabbinical tradition. Touching the question of visiting the sick in the period of the Middle Ages, Israel Abrahams has this to say:[2] "This general concern with such matters (interest in the sick) partly accounts for the fact that so little 'parish visiting' was done by the rabbis in the Middle Ages; this function was performed by the laity in general and by the layheads of the congregation in particular. The rabbi merely performed his share like other pious members of the community."

Inasmuch as the American rabbi serves an institution, there are two related roles which fall to his lot. He is both (5) an administrator and (6) an organizer. While a synagogue or temple, especially if it is large, may have a staff to assist in the smooth and efficient functioning of the religious institution, the responsibility for the actual performance of a synagogue rests with the rabbi. He must often concern himself with programs and membership lists and the calling of meetings and the writing and editing of bulletins. At times he will even don the mantle of fund

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[1] London: Edward Goldston, Ltd., 1932, p. 33.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

raiser and visit "interested" persons together with committee members. Many a temple mortgage has been lifted from the backs of a congregation because of the rabbi's effort.

Related to this role of integrating the various parts of the religious structure into a smoothly functioning whole is the task of organization of the modern rabbi. In order to relate every member of a family to his synagogue in as many ways as possible, the rabbi often finds himself organizing youth groups, a Men's Club, a Young Marrieds' Association.

And, finally, there is the new function of the rabbi created by virtue of the position of the Jew in a hostile and insecure world. The American rabbi is (7) an ambassador of good will to non-Jews. He speaks to a host of organizations, he gives courses in Christian camps, he arranges interfaith meetings, and he sponsors an Institute on Judaism in his own synagogue for Christian clergymen and religious teachers.

These are in outline the many roles of the modern Jewish clergyman. When closely examined, it becomes apparent that these various roles demand first of all a specialized and specific training to qualify the rabbi for the kind of behavior that is expected of him. But what is even more important is the fact that the playing of these various roles is a source of conflict and tension within the rabbi himself and in the life of the congregation and the community to which he ministers.

To begin with, the rabbi devotes most of his four years in a rabbinical seminary to a study of the Bible, Talmud, Hebrew, history, Midrash, Codes, and Commentaries. The ideal with which he is suffused is learning, study, scholarship. His seminary would like to make of him a student and a scholar. But when the rabbi functions as a leader in the Jewish community, this is among the least of the roles which the congregation expects him to fill. Far more important to most of the members of his congregation will be his other roles. They will want him to be friendly, "a regular fellow," invited to address non-Jewish groups, ready and eager to counsel when necessary. This conflict between what the rabbi conceives his major role to be and the expectations of the members of his congregation comes to be the source of much of his tension and frustration. The rabbi must perforce engage in those activities which match the expectations of those to whom he ministers in order to be approved.

But the conflict of roles goes even deeper. The American rabbi is hard put to it to allocate his day to the many roles which spell "spiritual leader." If he wants to pursue his scholarly interests in the rabbinic tradition, he is called away by the pressing demands of the many other roles. It is just not possible to be accepted and approved by a congrega-

tion by rounding out but one aspect of the rabbinic position. So the rabbi must be something of a trapeze artist, working out a balance and an allocation of time with the hope that he may equate expectation with performance.

To be more candid, it is quite impossible to engage in as many kinds of activities as is demanded of the American rabbi. Somewhere along the road he must sacrifice a measure of his pastoral visiting for scholarly pursuits. Or he may choose to limit his outside speaking engagements for the sake of synagogue administration and organization. But whatever the compromise, the attempt to behave in so many different ways is in itself the wellspring of conflict.

Then again there is the question of training. Every role has to be learned. With so many to perform, the rabbi is bound to know one or two better than others. Once again trouble brews. The roles that the rabbi knows best and enjoys most may not be the ones that the various members of the congregation deem important. In their minds are many ideas and notions touching the function which the rabbi is to perform. To one he is worth his salt if he cuts a good public relations figure; to another he becomes an idol if his children are happy in the Religious School. And to still a third the fact that the rabbi is on hand when the emergencies of birth and death arise is all that matters. This different weighting of roles by the rabbi and the congregation is the seat of conflict.

The difference in rabbinic role conceptions as between the rabbi and the congregation stems from the fact that the rabbi usually has a cultural definition of his role, whereas the members of a congregation have their own personal and private notions of what a rabbi ought to do, each one with his own bias and emphasis. The American rabbi does not labor in an environment saturated with Jewish values. There is not much of a universe of discourse between rabbi and congregation. Most rabbis are aware of the ugly truth that much that is taught in the Religious School is not practiced in the home and finds no echo in the child's experience. Judaism is more honored in the breach than in the observance. In this state of *anomie,* then, the rabbi must try to change the behavior of his congregants so that they will act in some relation to the norms and standards of Judaism.

To accomplish this, the American rabbi resorts to preaching, persuasion, and demonstration. His relation to the members of a congregation is not a command-obey relationship. The most that he can hope for is compliance with suggestion. The rabbi is a noncharismatic person, possessing no supernatural power by virtue of which he dominates the

external world in an authoritative way. The source of his authority is an order of things external to himself. And the only validation of this authority is his knowledge and familiarity with the Torah tradition. He is a servant of faith, supported in a regular way for performing a delimited task; thus he may be engaged and disengaged. If he finds satisfactions, it is only because his congregants respond to his suggestions for Jewish living.

What we need to realize is that the American rabbi represents in many respects a discontinuity in the Jewish tradition. An analysis is needed of the rabbi's activities in terms of his many roles and the conflicts between them. An empirical study of the way in which the rabbi articulates these roles is a needful first step in the clarification of the total role of the American rabbi.

# OBTAINING A POSITION IN SOCIOLOGY

EMORY S. BOGARDUS
*University of Southern California*

When President Samuel A. Stouffer of the American Sociological Society asked the former presidents of the Society to give some counsel to young Ph.D.'s in sociology, the present writer was moved to write to thirty "young Ph.D.'s" regarding what problems they would welcome counsel on, if any. All replied and all took the inquiry with seriousness as judged by the thought and length of their replies.

These young sociologists are not a representative sample. Their backgrounds, however, are varied, and the problems that they describe may be regarded as important and in some instances far reaching.

Some of the problems were given by as many as eight or ten of the respondents. A tabulating of them gives a list of approximately sixty problems of the young sociologists who replied. About one third of the problems relate to (1) obtaining a position in sociology, about one third to (2) problems of teaching sociology, and the remaining third may be classified as (3) "special problems." The first-mentioned third will be reviewed in this article. No claim is made here that adequate answers are given to the problems as stated. Many variables are involved in the answers to each question, and exceptions to these answers will come to every reader's mind. The answers may be viewed as tentative until better ones can be given. The statement of some of the problems in a few instances has been shortened without changing the meaning, and in other instances two closely related questions have been combined in one.

1. How plentiful are occupational opportunities in sociology today? No recent study has been made along this line. The general facts are that most universities in the United States have large departments of sociology, and that most small colleges have a genuine nucleus of sociology courses, not always organized as a separate department but conducted jointly with courses in related social science fields. In a large number of junior colleges sociology is taught but is often integrated with other aspects of social science. Many departments of sociology are slowly increasing the size of their staffs; others are maintaining their program without a great deal of enlargement. In nearly all cases the turnover in staff members takes place slowly. The salaries may be classed as good and opportunities for advancement as similar to those throughout the given college or university.

Within recent years a number of positions for sociologists have been created in government and welfare organization research. These positions go to sociologists who are research trained, but cannot be counted on too heavily among the occupational opportunities. This development, however, is encouraging.

On the whole, it probably can be said that occupational opportunities for young sociologists are better than at any time since the beginning of sociology as an academic discipline. Against this statement must be placed another to the effect that the departments of sociology are graduating more Ph.D.'s than ever before and perhaps more than there are openings for in any given year. This means that only the best, barring exceptions, will secure satisfactory positions immediately. The others must seek temporary employment in social welfare, in secondary school teaching, or in other ways. If a graduate student in sociology can establish himself as a successful college teacher or research person before he receives the Ph.D. degree, he will decrease the difficulty of obtaining a satisfactory position after the degree is won.

2. How do I go about obtaining a position in teaching sociology? An excellent place to begin is by establishing one's self as a superior graduate student. Then, the door of a graduate assistantship will almost certainly open, where a miscellany of opportunities for showing one's mettle will arise. One of these may be that of "taking over a class" for one or more periods during a given professor's absence from campus. If this type of opportunity can be met in an outstanding way and if the assistant makes himself "indispensable," he will have taken a long step toward being recommended for a desirable position when he is ready for it.

Most new openings or advancements come about in a personal way. A professor gives a personal recommendation of a new Ph.D. The candidate makes a personable impression on a member of the department of sociology that is seeking applicants. Rarely does a department select a new addition on the basis of letters alone, formal recommendations, and so on. It is important that the forthcoming Ph.D. make a number of personal contacts with the rank and file of sociologists, for example, when they appear at regional sociological society meetings.

A few candidates apply through a teacher's bureau. Some avail themselves of the employment service of the American Sociological Society. Others may write directly to a number of departments of sociology, inquiring about openings. But sooner or later the appointment will almost certainly hinge on mutually satisfactory personal contacts.

3. In applying for a position, shall I indicate a major interest in teaching, or in research, or in both? Most neophytes in sociology are expected to carry a teaching schedule and perhaps do some research. As a rule, the young Ph.D. may well work to establish a satisfactory teaching reputation first, and later supplement his teaching programs with attention to research projects.

To obtain advancement in the sociology field not only an interest in research but actual research accomplishment is desirable if not necessary. If the research is accompanied by having research papers accepted for publication in sociological journals, the chances for advancement are enhanced greatly. Much complaint is expressed against the current tendency to rate research above teaching as a prerequisite for promotion. The reason, for whatever it is worth, is that a research project that is carried through to obtaining significant findings presumably adds to the total of sociological knowledge, and that without such additions from time to time sociology would grow stale and a body of outmoded and untested materials would be passed on from teacher to student.

4. Where do research positions in sociology lead? Research leads to more research, as a rule. It may lead to more thorough research and sooner or later to a better research position. However, research positions in sociology are still too few, too unrelated, too fugitive to give a high degree of occupational security. Their future cannot be depicted with assurance.

In another sense research positions lead to a high degree of specialization, to working isolated from people, to limited social contacts, and sometimes to occupational unilateralism, or a singleness of emphasis in action and thought. Statistical research is weak at the foregoing point; interviewing types of research give greater social stimulation but are less well established occupationally than positions calling for statistical ability.

5. How do positions compare in small colleges, universities, government research, research in a private welfare or industrial organization? Positions in small colleges as a rule give many satisfactory social contacts with students, faculty, and community. Many of them afford a greater variety of satisfactions than do any of the other three mentioned types. They make it possible for sociology teachers to live at a more normal, well-rounded, and enjoyable pace than do the other types. Their status in a local sense is high. The salary may be limited and the tendency may develop to be satisfied with one's position as it is. Often the small college insists upon offering the young Ph.D. a settee and upon affording inadequate time for specialization in some one aspect of sociology.

The university has larger departments, and the stimuli which come from teaching on the higher graduate levels and from training candidates for the doctoral degree are assets. As one advances in rank, he may be given considerable time for research and for directing research. The full teaching load may be cut to six or eight hours per week, and less where research is conducted. The salary schedule is good, on the whole. Sabbatical leaves are provided with some degree of regularity. In given universities a fairly satisfactory retirement allowance is provided. The status is high for those of the higher ranks. The department of sociology, however, may become separated in thought and action from other social science departments, and the large city (if the university is so located) may make too many pressing and speeded-up demands upon the staff member.

Positions in government research may offer fairly high salaries but a somewhat isolated occupational life. They are designed for specialists. A larger occupational outlook is given by a research position in a welfare or industrial organization, but there is a lack of continuity and of certainty in it.

6. Does one have more academic freedom in a small college or large university? The answer depends on several variables. If the college is located in a very conservative community, freedom is restricted, but if the community is progressive, alert, forward looking, the young sociologist will find in it the freedom to express new ideas provided he does so objectively and thoughtfully. The large university usually gives greater freedom with reference to both personal and professional conduct, but frowns upon conduct that brings the university into disrepute with its supporting publics.

7. What are the prospects for teaching sociology in high school or junior college? Not very good for teaching sociology under that heading in high school, but a little better in a junior college. The integration of sociology with history, civics, and other related subjects has an advantage in that it enables the teacher to present sociological ideas to a considerable percentage of the students in a given school as a normal aspect of their educational training rather than as a separate subject for which the student may not readily have meanings.

8. Would a young sociologist have much chance as a "sociology counselor"? Not much, for two reasons. First, the sociology counselor has not yet achieved professional status like that of the sociology teacher. There are very few sociology counselors as such. Second, the sociology counselor needs more experiences and more varied ones than the young

sociologist possesses. However, the need for the sociology counselor is developing, and the time may come when a professional status may be acquired.

9. Shall I accept a position in an institution whose religious or other views I do not accept? Only as a temporary measure and provided a more agreeable opening is not available. Experience seems to show that even a temporary acceptance of such a position does not work out well. The young sociologist is restrained and unhappy in his work. Despite great care he may express ideas that create strong antagonism against him. Even his sins of omission, that is, of failure to participate in some of the college activities may be counted against him. Moreover, he will likely leave under a shadow, and sociology may receive a black eye.

10. How can one best establish worth-while professional contacts? First, by establishing for himself a successful teaching reputation. Second, by engaging in at least a minimum research program. Third, by attending sociological society meetings and participating in them as fully as possible without pushing himself forward. Fourth, by the exercise of a high measure of cooperation with his colleagues. He will refrain from promulgating criticisms about fellow sociologists, fostering rumors and gossip, and in talking and working against colleagues behind their backs. He will make allowances for the fact that no sociologist is perfect and for the additional fact that all make some mistakes. He will recognize that the growth of sociology as a social science will depend to a considerable degree upon teamwork among sociologists and not on spite work. A pulling together is needed against many common enemies, such as ignorance, undue ego-involvement, distorted and unfair criticism from outside the profession.

11. How do you compare postdoctoral fellowships, visiting professorships, and travel abroad? Postdoctoral fellowships are highly desirable if one is in a measure footloose. Many of them give unique opportunities for carrying forward a research project that was begun in predoctoral days.

Visiting professorships are in a somewhat different class. They usually go to professors on sabbatical leave or to those engaged in special study. They call for considerable experience.

Travel abroad is in a still different category. It usually requires some degree of independent means and free time before one settles down occupationally, or it may come about as an aspect of a sabbatical leave. It is highly desirable that the young sociologist obtain as early as possible

at least a passing acquaintance with social conditions in other countries, and particularly with sociologists in other countries and with what they are doing professionally.

12. Should I try to supplement my limited salary by part-time outside employment for a while, or is it better that my wife work? The latter alternative is probably the usual procedure, although it has its drawbacks, especially when it cripples family life. Part-time employment for a young sociologist in addition to a full-time teaching position is not very satisfactory, at least not for any length of time. Moreover, it draws his attention away from his profession when he needs to be bending his energies toward establishing a professional status.

13. How can I obtain a better position with more salary and better security than I now have? This question comes from young sociologists in both small colleges and large universities. The first-mentioned inquirers feel that they cannot receive any substantial increases in salary because of the financial condition of the given college. The second group report that there are several ranking members of the given department ahead of them and that there will be little or no opportunity to be advanced in rank (and salary) for years. Both groups feel that they are caught in a difficult situation and that the best solution is to seek a position elsewhere. Both are probably correct. On the basis of two possible qualifications, namely, a successful teaching experience and the establishing of professional contacts in other institutions of higher learning, a change for the better may be effected, although time may be required.

14. How far is a department of sociology responsible for helping me get a position or for helping me get a better position? Not at all legally, but very definitely, professionally. It is to the interest of a department of sociology to see that its young Ph.D.'s are placed satisfactorily and that they learn of new openings that will enable them to improve themselves professionally. A department's reputation is tied to what the men and women do whom the department has seen fit to send out as representatives of its training program. Of course, the best Ph.D.'s may be counted on to secure positions and advances in rank without much help from the department. But there are some Ph.D.'s who will need departmental help in getting started professionally.

Most graduate students will have established strong personal relations with one or more members of the given department by the time the Ph.D. degree is conferred. Such member or members generally take a deep personal interest in the new Ph.D. and will go to considerable length in helping him obtain a position and in keeping him informed later of new opportunities.

15. Should I secure training in quantitative methods of research if I have not had it? In general, the answer is "yes"—for a number of reasons. (a) Some of the main contributions to sociology today are being made through empirical, experimental research. Without a knowledge of quantitative methods, one may be cutting himself off from some contributions to sociology. (b) Quantitative methods are in vogue in sociology and will probably continue to be considered essential by the majority of sociologists. Hence, one's ability to use quantitative methods has a bearing on one's status in sociology. (c) Such a knowledge is important for understanding and for appreciating the findings of the large number of experimental research projects now being carried forward. A knowledge of elementary statistics at least is vital to a well-rounded participation in sociological study.

Of course, quantitative methods alone are not sociology proper, and they do not comprise the only ways by which contributions may be made to sociology. They may be viewed as essential aspects of sociological investigation along with and perhaps integrated with other methods.

16. Should one work in theoretical or applied research? The answer depends on the young Ph.D.'s aptitudes and tendencies in research, and also upon the opportunities. Not many young sociologists are ready to engage in theoretical research. This is possibly the most advanced field of sociology; it calls for years of thought development and assumes that the sociologist has superior ability to think along theoretical lines.

Occupational opportunities in research are limited to a great extent to what may be called applied research, that is, research of an empirical, experimental nature dealing with actual social situations and problems. Probably the research findings to date in sociology are totally inadequate as bases for many reliable theoretical conclusions. The function of the theoretical sociologist at the present time seems to be to set forth theoretical hypotheses to be tested by rigid and widespread experimentation, drawing these hypotheses largely from a thoroughgoing study of the research findings already available.

17. Should I specialize in statistical research, interview research, historical research, or philosophical research? The prevailing tendency among sociologists is to combine statistical research and interview research. Specialization in either one to the exclusion of the other can hardly be recommended. One has the advantage of being objective in method; the other, the strong point of penetrating subjective aspects of human relations. Sociology aims to be both scientific and at the same time to understand the meanings of human relations to the participants. Hence the combination, as far as feasible, the integration of statistical

research and interview research is desirable. Neither without the other is complete.

Historical research in sociology is limited by the fact that sociology is so largely a new discipline. It is only in recent years that it has been winning recognition because of its contributions to knowledge. Philosophical research calls for broad training and a large range of findings of experimental research studies. Obviously, the young Ph.D. cannot be encouraged to devote a great deal of time in this direction.

18. Should I accept extensive administrative work in addition to teaching and research? The answer is, How can you? To do so is scarcely possible without sacrificing vital aspects of teaching or research or both. Extensive administrative work may pay well and afford a special kind of status, but it takes time and more than time. It takes nervous energy. An assignment of "teaching and research" is enough for the average young sociologist. If he is drawn extensively into administrative responsibilities, he may retain one or two advanced classes or seminars in sociology, and thus keep in touch with both teaching and research developments, but he can hardly hope to do more for any length of time. Administrative responsibilities comprise a twenty-four-hour assignment. The problems stay on one's mind both day and night, and wholly hamper one's style for whatever time one can find for teaching or for conducting an elongated piece of research.

19. How important is it that I attend the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society? Very important, at least once every two or three years, and oftener if the distance to the annual meetings, the expense, the time of the meetings, and personal responsibilities permit. There are a number of reasons: (a) Attendance gives one perspective regarding sociological development in the United States. (b) It gives firsthand acquaintance with current sociological studies and with the findings of research projects. (c) It gives a close-up view of many sociologists in action. (d) It gives opportunities to meet fellow sociologists in other colleges and universities throughout the nation and to establish professional relationships with them. (e) Sooner or later it will help in giving opportunity to take part in some of the programs. (f) It gives "the feel" of being an integral, functioning part of a large and growing fellowship of scholars having kindred professional interests.

In a succeeding article another group of about twenty questions dealing with problems of teaching sociology as raised by young Ph.D.'s in sociology will be discussed. A remaining group of approximately twenty additional problems (not covered by obtaining a position or by teaching) will be presented and discussed later.

# ERLE FISKE YOUNG, 1888-1953

A deep sense of loss came to all who knew Erle Fiske Young when they learned of his death, June 1, 1953, just a few weeks before his 65th birthday and shortly after his retirement from the University of Southern California had been announced. He had been a member of our sociology group for a period of twenty-nine years, in fact, ever since he received the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Chicago in 1924 under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Park, Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, and their colleagues. He brought to our Department of Sociology, then only nine years old, a superior mind equipped with excellent sociological techniques, a warm and genial personality, an unusually delightful sense of humor, a loyalty and informality that multiplied the number of his friends, and attitudes of unfailing helpfulness toward all his students, both graduate and undergraduate.

In the next issue of *Sociology and Social Research,* the writer will present an analysis of Dr. Young's contributions to sociology. They center chiefly in the fields of sociological methodology, race and ethnic relations, and personality attitudes and adjustments. He became the first director of the Social Research Laboratory of our department. Under his supervision for more than a score of years the Laboratory was placed on a substantial basis as an invaluable resource for our advanced students in sociology. He possessed an inventive turn of mind. His major invention was an efficient electrically operated spotting machine for use in showing the location of appropriate data on social base maps. His versatility was further shown by an activity known to only a few of his friends, that of building, with his own hands, a spacious home on his ranch in Modesto and making some of his own furniture. Also he wrote considerable poetry dealing with the philosophy of life.

As a staff member in the Chicago chapter of the American Red Cross and as an instructor in social economy of the School of Commerce and Administration of the University of Chicago in the early days of his career, Dr. Young developed an abiding interest in scientific social work, which was a substantial factor in helping to bring about a *rapprochement* between sociology and social work. While teaching sociology in our department, he also taught social work courses and for a number of years served as associate director of the young and growing School of Social Work of the University of Southern California. He made significant contributions to social work literature. At the time of his death he was compiling a two-volume work on the "History of Social Work."

In 1918 he was married to Miss Pauline Vislick, also a student at the University of Chicago, who in 1930 received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology from our department. Together they worked on the production of a number of noteworthy sociological and social work studies. Dr. Erle inaugurated the journal of *Social Work Technique* and compiled *The Social Workers Dictionary* with the assistance of Dr. Pauline Young and other colleagues of our department and school. He thought of social case work interviewing as a first-class laboratory process for sociologists and of sociology as a primary contributor to the social worker's insight concerning personality problems.

A large number of expressions have been received emphasizing Erle's friendly personality, his stimulating sociological ideas, his calm and balanced judgment, his sense of humor, and his strength of character. His place on our sociology faculty cannot be filled, although capable staff members may carry on his courses.                                    E.S.B.


# LUCIUS MOODY BRISTOL, 1872-1953

WINSTON M. EHRMANN
*University of Florida*

The faculty of the Department of Sociology, University of Florida, announces with deep sorrow the death of Dr. Lucius Moody Bristol, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, on May 9, 1953, at Gainesville, Florida.

He is survived by his wife, two children, and four grandchildren.

He was born on May 21, 1872, at Castle Creek, New York. He graduated from high school in Binghamton, New York, went to Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, and then to the University of North Carolina, where he received his bachelor's degree. From there he went to the School of Theology at Boston University, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology. He was then ordained a Minister in the Methodist Church and for ten years was a minister, a member of the Genesee Conference of New York State.

After attending Harvard University, where he earned the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Social Ethics, he taught at Tufts College, at Brown University, and at West Virginia University, then came to the University of Florida in 1920, where he was head of the Department of Soci-

ology and Economics until the founding of the School of Business Administration in 1926. In 1945, after giving 25 years' service to the University of Florida, he retired as head of the Department of Sociology.

His most famous publication was *Social Adaptation*. Although published in 1915, it has not become antiquated, and it remains one of the milestones in the history of American sociology.

He was a versatile teacher. At a Genesee Wesleyan Seminary in Lima, New York, he was an instructor in German and French. During his subsequent academic career he taught sociology, economics, philosophy, and Biblical studies.

Before and after retirement he was an active participant in the affairs of the Southern Sociological Society, the American Red Cross, the Florida State Conference of Social Work, the Tuberculosis and Health Association, the Crippled Children's Association, and many others.

He helped greatly to stimulate public interest in and action for social legislation first in West Virginia and then in Florida. In fact, much of the social legislation enacted into law in recent decades in Florida has been directly or indirectly influenced by his actions.

Dr. Bristol, as a teacher, was untiring in his efforts to benefit mankind through knowledge and through social services. During his entire academic career and from the time of his retirement to his death, he was most active in applying the humanitarian welfare philosophy of the classroom to everyday life. He was known in the city of Gainesville and throughout the state of Florida for his efforts on behalf of many social welfare movements and organizations. His breadth of knowledge and his vast humanitarian philosophy brought honor to himself, to the University of Florida, and to the profession of sociology.

# PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

*George Pepperdine College.* Dr. Thomas Ely Lasswell read a paper on social stratification at the National Meeting of the American Sociological Society.

*Los Angeles State College.* Dr. Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard University spoke at the summer meeting of Alpha Kappa Delta, held on the campus of the University of Southern California. Professor Zimmerman served as visiting professor and taught courses in marriage.

*University of California, Berkeley.* Dr. Judson T. Landis served as chairman of the local arrangements committee for the National Meeting of the American Sociological Society, held on the Berkeley campus. The meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems occurred on August 29. Drs. Bendix and Blumer arranged the details for SSSP.

*University of California, Los Angeles.* Two new men have been added to the staff—Melville Dalton, formerly at Washington University, as an assistant professor and Richard T. Morris, formerly of Northwestern University, as an assistant professor. Dr. Leonard Broom will be on leave during the academic year 1953-54, under a Faculty Fellowship from the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation. Dr. Ralph Turner has received a Social Science Research Council Faculty Research Fellowship to run from September 1953 until September 1956. *Other People's Money* is a monograph written by Dr. Donald R. Cressey and published by the Free Press.

*University of Southern California.* Two recent Ph.D.'s from the department have accepted positions at Wayne University (Dr. Thomas F. Hoult) and Southern Methodist University (Dr. Bruce Pringle). Both Dr. Hoult and Dr. Pringle are to be assistant professors and to specialize in the teaching of research methods. Dr. Harvey Locke read a paper on predicting marital success at the National Meeting in Berkeley, and Dr. Bruce Pringle read the pertinent conclusions of his Ph.D. study. Dr. Edward C. McDonagh and Dr. Thomas E. Lasswell are authors of an *Outline of Introductory Sociology* for the Lucas Brothers' College Outline Series, published in September. Dr. Emory S. Bogardus has returned from a trip to Guatemala, where he studied several aspects of ethnic relations. He participated in the special meeting of the American Sociological Society reserved for former presidents of the organization. Dr. Georges Sabagh continues his research in population and fertility characteristics of selected areas of Los Angeles. Preliminary findings of

his research were presented at the American Sociological Society meeting.

*Pomona College.*   Dr. Alvin H. Scaff has gone to the Philippines to study the "Huks" on a Fulbright award. Dr. Ray E. Baber's *Marriage and the Family* (second edition) was published by McGraw-Hill Book Company in August. Dr. C. W. Topping of the University of British Columbia exchanged summer teaching assignments with Dr. Baber.

# SOCIAL THEORY

GROSSTADTFORSCHUNG. By Elizabeth Pfeil. Bremen-Horn: Walter Dorn Verlag, 1950, pp. 272.

This is a general text on the sociology of large urban centers. The book is divided into two sections; the first is devoted to a history of urban sociology and the second covers the usual topics included in texts on the subject. Population size, ecological structure, location, migration streams and migration differentials, social structure, and social institutions are all discussed.

The wealth of statistical information on German and European cities as well as American cities has not been fully exploited. There is not a single table in the book. Even though comparative analysis of cities is stressed, many important American contributions to the ecology and demography of metropolitan centers have been omitted. American sociologists will be interested, however, in this attempt to focus analysis on the large urban center. Furthermore, they will find in this book some good discussions of the German theoretical literature on urban sociology.

G.S.

THE UNIVERSE OF MEANING. By Samuel Reiss. New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1953, pp. x+227.

This book is an outgrowth of a preceding one by the same author. Entitled *The Rise of Words and Their Meanings,* the predecessor supports the hypothesis that all simple words are "action" words associated with the sound of striking. In the present work the focus of attention is shifted from the problem of the sounds and meanings of words to the characteristics of the meaning concept itself.

The subject of meaning is projected from three points of view: meaning as autonomous conceptual construct, polar related meanings, and meaning as postulated or "intended meaning." An understanding of the

nature of these bonds between meaning and the form of its expression is considered to be fundamental to a general solution of the paradoxes and antinomies complicating the task of reducing mathematics to pure logic.

In a most provocative chapter called "Physical Symbol and Meaning," the author approaches the subject of physical reality as a kind of social situation wherein what is beheld is not independent of the beholder but a function of his interpretation of "physical symbols." Objectivity and subjectivity are, therefore, inseparable, since they define a relationship of mutual variation.

This book should interest most students of sociology. For those sociologists who have come to the conclusion that communication is the cardinal problem of the discipline, it may prove, however, to be even more than interesting, for who knows but that such tangential works may stimulate the invention of that schema whereby the variables of social interaction may at last be organized into a manageable whole?

HAROLD T. DIEHL
*Los Angeles State College*

SCIENCE AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR. By B. F. Skinner. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953, pp. x+461.

Author Skinner introduces this book by asking several related questions about human behavior, such as, "Can science help in understanding it? Can there be a science of human behavior?" After a brief inquiry into the nature of the scientific, an outline for the analysis of materials so far as their sources are concerned is presented. The sources are listed as (1) casual observations, (2) controlled field observations, (3) clinical observations, (4) extended observations under rigidly controlled conditions, (5) laboratory studies, and (6) laboratory studies of animal behavior. An analysis of behavior as offered here involves an examination of reflexes, operant behavior, and such other aspects as the controlling environment, emotion, and function. Such phenomena as group behavior and the controlling agencies—law, religion, education, culture—are brought under the author's scrutiny of the subject. While there is no doubt that he believes behavior to be a fit subject for scientific investigation, his presentation suffers mightily, since it all sounds like a soliloquy being delivered from the deep recesses of a comfortable fireside chair.

M.J.V.

ADJUSTMENT TO PHYSICAL HANDICAP AND ILLNESS: A Survey
of the Social Psychology of Physique and Disability. By Roger G. Barker
*et al.* New York: Social Science Research Council, 1953, pp. xvi+440.
(Bulletin 55, Revised)

Since the first edition (1946) of this study appeared, improved re-
search techniques and the increased importance of rehabilitation and edu-
cation of physically disabled persons have been significant factors in
calling forth a revision of this basic social-psychological document.
Focusing attention upon the somatopsychological relation between
physique and behavior, the report considers such factors as the effects
of the differences in physical size, strength, and attractiveness upon be-
havior. Noted also is the resultant behavior in cases of crippling, tuber-
culosis, other acute illnesses, as well as impaired hearing and vision.

The field surveyed here seems of primal import for those social psychol-
ogists who write texts in the subject minimizing or even neglecting the
study of physique and behavior, which are "related via genetic, endo-
crine, neural and psychosomatic mechanisms." Physique, declares the
report, "is one of the important bases upon which social distinctions
are made," and there is no culture that does not "place values upon
certain aspects of physique, age, sex, race, stature, strength, beauty,
health and physical normality." Implicated is the idea that "relatively
little has been done to determine systematically the extent to which
normal variations in physique actually do influence behavior and the
means by which their effects are accomplished." This is due in part to
the great number of variables that must be considered with physical
size, i.e., class, interests, religion, race, and occupation, in any situation
in which it might be thought that size has some or no effect. An exten-
sive survey of the literature on the subject adds to the importance of the
report.                                                               M.J.V.

GROUPS IN HARMONY AND TENSION. An Integration of Studies on
Intergroup Relations. By Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif. New
York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. xiii+316.

The importance of intergroup relations is given a new status by this
work, which may be viewed as "a logical extension" of Professor Sherif's
book *The Psychology of Social Norms.* The emphasis in the new treatise
is represented by the statement that "the functional relationships among
groups have brought about increasing interdependence." Extensive atten-

tion is given to social distance scales and to studies of prejudice. The role of reference groups is discussed at length and in terms of "anchoring groups."

Intergroup behavior is defined as "that behavior which the members of an in-group reveal, collectively or individually, toward out-groups and their members as a consequence of influences stemming from their group membership." Stereotypes are viewed as "standardized short-cut evaluations which reflect present or past relations between groups, or a picture of these relations presented to the group."

Two chapters are devoted to a discussion of an experimental study of "in-group formation and intergroup relations" among a selected number of twenty-four boys divided into two groups who were ushered through three stages of boys' camp life. A number of situations that throw light on "groups in harmony and tension" are described and analyzed. It is pointed out, as a general conclusion, that conditions of interdependence and harmony among groups may be defeated by "practices and norms in conflicting directions within the respective in-groups." Both the integration of various studies of intergroup behavior and the report of the experimental study make important contributions to the development of social psychology.                                        E.S.B.

THE STUDY OF HUMAN NATURE. By David L. Watson. Yellow
    Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1953, pp. x+262.

The author contends that the more nearly social science reduces its study of human nature to the role of an automatic machine, the more the work of the social scientist has a spurious air of being "more real, useful, and valid than it actually is." He believes that social science which rests its case only on methods of physical science and which seeks out the objective, the mechanistic, and the materialistic is unreliable. He pleads for an inclusion of subjective, aesthetic, and spiritual integrity as having a much more exacting aim in the study of attitudes and values than a purely objective approach. A further elaboration and a number of illustrations of his viewpoint would strengthen his position. By its fruits one may know the merits of various research methods.                     E.S.B.

# PEOPLES AND CULTURE

TRAVELS IN JEWRY. By Israel Cohen. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1953, pp. 372.

The author, a pro-Zionist writer, has visited thirty Jewish communities in twelve different countries in Europe, including centers in Cologne, Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Cracow, Vilna, Salonika, Venice, Paris, Madrid, before or since World War II. He describes the faith, zeal, and activities of Jewish people in a way that makes these communities stand out most realistically.

DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK. United Nations, New York, 1952, pp. 518.

This is the fourth volume of the *Demographic Yearbook,* published by the United Nations. The data presented include both a continuous series and statistical material on special topics. This excellent policy has been adopted for all the *Demographic Yearbooks.* The geographic distribution of the population and the characteristics of the urban population have been selected for special treatment in this volume.

The tables include the usual ones on population area, density, and rates of population increase, on population by age and sex, on the total number of births, stillbirths, deaths, infant deaths, marriages and divorces, on crude birth, death, and marriage rates, on infant mortality rates, on deaths by cause, on international migration, and on life table values for various countries of the world. In this edition of the *Yearbook* the time coverage of the vital rates and of population had been expanded to cover the period of 1920 to the present. New tables on divorce rates and on the resettlement and repatriation of refugees are included. The special tables are those on administrative subdivisions, urban and rural population, population by size of centers, and population of cities with 100,000 people or more.

As in previous volumes, there is a "technical" introduction devoted to a definition of terms and to a discussion of the reliability of the information contained in the tables. The various countries of the world have been classified according to a measure of the adequacy of the information on age and sex. There is also an excellent introductory chapter on "Urban Trends and Characteristics," which discusses the following subjects: the international comparability in levels of urbanization, the size of urban agglomerations, urban-rural differences in sex ratios, fertility, and mortality.

It is to be hoped that in some future issue of the *Yearbook* marriage and divorce statistics will be selected for a detailed discussion and that data on divorces by duration of marriage, previous marital status, age of divorced persons, and number of children will be presented. Demographers and sociologists will find this volume of the *Demographic Yearbook* just as useful and valuable as the previous volumes.          G.S.

**THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN BRIDGEPORT. By Anthony J. Tomains and Lucille N. LaMacchia. Bridgeport: University of Bridgeport, 1953, pp. 44.**

This factual report in mimeograph form gives data regarding Italian-American people and organizations and trends in Bridgeport. It is concluded that the Italians in this city are experiencing a "vanishing minority status" as they are becoming a part of American life.

**NORTH FROM MALAYA. Adventure on Five Fronts. By William O. Douglas. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1953, pp. 352.**

In the summer of 1952 Associate Justice Douglas visited Malaya, the Philippines, Vietnam, Burma, Formosa, and Korea. He traveled unofficially and met the common people extensively. Guerrilla tactics in Malaya as well as the underground activities of the Communists and the demands of the Malayans for independence are described at length. In the Philippines the work of Magsaysay and others in winning many "Huks" away from communism and in overcoming landlordism is making headway. In Vietnam the underground phantom army under Communist direction is likely to win unless France reverses her imperialistic rule. The existence of many sharp divisions of peoples makes Burma an area that communism hopes to take over.

While saying a good word for Chiang Kai-Shek as a person, Justice Douglas believes that it would be a tragic mistake for the United States "to underwrite with American lives and American resources the political fortunes of a Chinese politician." Why? Because "Asia is not turning back to feudal overlords, to conservative politicians, even to fine old men for leadership. Asia is explosive, turbulent, impatient." Syngman Rhee is spoken of highly as "a great patriot," but he seems lost when it comes to "such mundane questions as inflation, price control, rationing of food." In this forthright, down-to-earth, thought-provoking book, it is predicted that the next cold war will be between India and Russia.

                                                              E.S.B.

ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Edward C. Mc-
Donagh and Eugene S. Richards. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts,
Inc., 1953, pp. xiv+408.

There is a fast-growing library of textbooks covering the general as
well as specific problems confronting American minorities. The present
work is one of the best, thanks to the insistence of the editors (and
authors) that a factual picture of the statuses of selected ethnic groups
in the United States can be presented in terms of a definite frame of
reference, which, in turn, reveals many of the same problems for each of
the ethnic minorities discussed here—the Negro in the South, North,
and West, Jews, Mexicans, Indians, Japanese, and European immigrants.
While the descriptions of the social status, various forms of prejudices,
the legal, economic, and educational status of these minorities form the
core of the volume (Part II), Part I covers the concepts of race and
ethnic minorities, ethnic prejudice, sources of ethnic attitude, and pat-
terns of ethnic adjustment, and Part III ends the treatment with the
trends in research in ethnic relations, selected programs for improving
ethnic relations, and trends in ethnic relations.

McDonagh and Richards should be congratulated on covering their
topics by introducing each area of discussion with basic sociological prob-
lems involved and by summarizing the selected readings with their own
evaluations of these readings. "Problems for Study and Discussion" and
"Selected Readings" are also well done and carefully selected. In short,
this is a valuable volume, which will be used extensively in the courses
dealing with the endless ramifications of the problem of American
minorities.                                    JOSEPH S. ROUCEK
                                          *University of Bridgeport*


THE IMMIGRANT TAKES HIS STAND. By Arlow W. Andersen. North-
field, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1953, pp. vii
+176.

In this attractively printed volume, the attitudes of the Norwegian-
American press toward public affairs in the United States, 1847-1872,
are presented. They reveal a strong antislavery position, a followership
attitude rather than a leadership attitude toward social reform move-
ments, antagonism to the woman's rights movement, and, in the main,
loyalty to the Republican party.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY. By Ralph L. Beals and
Harry Hoijer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953, pp. xxi+658.

This is a scholarly textbook designed to meet the needs of beginners in
the field of anthropology. In the authors' words, "the book attempts to
present in as simple a fashion as possible the basic materials and ideas
of modern Anthropology," and they do succeed in providing the neces-
sary groundwork for those who intend to major in the field.

The first part of the work covers the elements of physical anthropology
and is a study of human evolution, including the nature and meaning of
the race divisions of mankind. The second part of the book deals with
cultural anthropology and emphasizes the more recent structural and
functional approach. The authors here place relatively little emphasis
upon the older historical studies.

As the student becomes familiar with the chapters on the nature and
meaning of culture, he will be impressed by the close relationship between
modern anthropology as a social science and the present-day field of
sociology. Teachers of anthropology will welcome this book as an impor-
tant text, and many will probably adopt it for their elementary courses.

The noteworthy illustrations prepared, after considerable research, by
Dr. Virginia M. Roediger, are a real contribution to the value of the
book. The maps and charts as well as the ethnographic references should
prove helpful to the beginning student, and the general reader too will
find much to interest him in these carefully prepared pages.

WILLIAM KIRK
*Claremont Graduate School*

CULTURE CHANGE. By Felix M. Keesing. Stanford: Stanford University
Press, 1953, pp. ix+242.

In this book a leading scholar in anthropology gives a brief analysis of
many hundreds of anthropological works, decade by decade, and a care-
fully developed bibliography of the same sources (from about 250
periodicals), year by year from about 1820 through 1952. This work
presents materials on processes of change, innovation, voluntary and
directed cultural change, effects of cultural change on social structure
and population activities, and rates of change.

# SOCIAL WELFARE

BUILDING A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE. Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953, pp. ix+564.

This revision of the 1948 edition retains much of the material and organization of chapters, but many sections are rewritten in the light of experience and new research. Revised versions of chapters on Mixed Marriages, Premarital Sex Relations, Buying Life Insurance, In-Laws and Marriage Adjustment, Finances and Adjustment in Marriage, and Sex Education of Children are especially in evidence. New chapters are added: Changing Sex Roles and Marriages under Special Circumstances (as marriage while in college, military separation, and marriage to previously married persons). New research findings have been added on dating and courtship, premarital sex standards, husband-wife adjustment to pregnancy, and other topics. The findings concerning maturation and dating reported in the earlier edition were retested through research among college students in a variety of colleges and universities in 1952.

A great deal of factual material is presented, but in a readable and graphic manner. The illustrations, 28 tables, and 106 figures present much of the material in graphic form. The analysis of the data is fundamentally sound and cautious.                                    M.H.N.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SCIENTISM. By A. H. Hobbs. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1953, pp. xii+418.

This is a book denouncing scientism, which the author defines as "a belief that science can furnish answers to all human problems." In it, Hobbs attempts to show that this belief and the persons whom he identifies as subscribers to it have created disorganization in American society and are capable of changing the entire social structure. Scientism, he claims, encourages crime, divorce, Xenophilia, state socialism, sex perversion, class consciousness, and false ideas about race, war, and American history. He compares the techniques used for the spread of scientism with those used for the spread of communism.

The book contains many emotional accusations and injunctions, many inadequately supported generalizations, and some rather basic inconsistencies. It does, however, indicate some areas for serious concern in the development of a philosophy of social science.

THOMAS E. LASSWELL
*George Pepperdine College*

**FATHER TOMPKINS OF NOVA SCOTIA. By George Boyle. New York:**
  **P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1953, pp. xi+234.**

With a nice cast of phrases and a pleasing style, the life and work of
Father Tompkins live again in this biography. In many places the reader
catches the anxious desire of Dr. Tompkins to help the "little people" of
Nova Scotia and of the world to see how by joining forces they can lift
themselves out of the sloughs of poverty, depression, and discouragement.
One can almost hear the evangelist of cooperation speaking again to his
parishioners, urging them to participate in discussion circles, to read
helpful books, to join together in small groups and do needful things,
for themselves together. Once again the reader feels the spell of "a free-
swinging imagination, a fluent vocabulary, and a relentless sense of
mission."

Dr. Tompkins was an extensive reader of carefully selected books
dealing with human problems, and, even more important, he stimulated
many a fisherman, a farmer, a coal miner likewise to read books about
people and ways of solving their economic and social problems. He
worked incessantly for years to help establish a regional library system
for the people of his part of the world. The Tompkins Memorial Library
in Reserve Mines is a fitting tribute, and the cooperatively built housing
development known as Tompkinsville is another appropriate testimony
to the indefatigable energy of a man whose interest in people functioned
within the framework of a spiritual and religious outlook on life. In
Mr. Boyle Father Tompkins has a worthy biographer.          E.S.B.

**WHEN YOU MARRY. By Evelyn Millis Duvall and Reuben Hill, with**
  **chapters in collaboration with Sylvanus M. Duvall. Boston: D. C. Heath**
  **and Co., 1953, pp. x+466.**

Like the original edition which appeared in 1945, this revision stresses
the functional education approach as distinguished from the traditional
academic approaches. It is chiefly reader-centered, with numerous illus-
trations and graphic presentations. There are four main parts: antici-
pating marriage; what it means to be married; the making of a family;
and family, yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The material is presented
in a readable and lively style, with a minimum of statistical data. Each
chapter begins with a series of questions, and the discussion is organized
in the light of concrete problems to which the questions refer. Check
tests, suggested readings, and other aids are designed to stimulate self-

study and group discussion. Except for the emphasis and the originality
in the presentation of the material, the authors discuss in general the
same subjects that are dealt with in similar texts, such as dating, the
courtship process, engagement, marriage and the facts of life, sex moral-
ity, wedding plans, marriage, money matters, conflicts and crises, divorce,
what holds a family together, babies and parenthood, religious aspects,
and the changing family life. It is fundamentally a guidebook and one
of the popular texts on marriage. Teachers of courses on marriage and
the family may desire more factual material and summaries of the latest
research reports.                                            M.H.N.

SAMFUNDET OG UNGDOMMEN. By Danish Government Youth Com-
mission.   Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1952, pp. 72.

In this final report on "Society and Youth" the Danish Youth Com-
mission brings to a close its investigations during the past seven years
of the "major problems relating to youth in Denmark." The sample in-
cluded 9,000 persons between the ages 15 to 24, or 2 per cent of the
total population of this age group. The findings deal with (1) use of
leisure time, (2) training and employment, (3) family data, (4) hous-
ing conditions, (5) military service. Many recommendations are made,
for example: (1) that annual medical examinations be provided "free
of charge for all young persons under 21 years of age" and be made
compulsory for all who are employed; (2) "elastic flats," in which a
space adjoining a flat be provided that may be made into a room when
children grow up; and (3) marriage loans are recommended so that
young people can buy household goods without resorting to installment
buying.

DICTIONARY OF CIVICS AND GOVERNMENT. By Marjorie Tallman.
New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1953, pp. 291.

It is a substantial undertaking for one person to prepare a dictionary
on any subject. The selection of hundreds of words and expressions; the
preparation of simple, concise, and accurate definitions or descriptions;
and the gathering of illustrations for many of them by giving appropriate
details from American history or party platform or Congressional or
municipal legislation constitute no small task. This dictionary covers not
only the basic concepts of civics and government, but some topics extend
into sociology, economics, and international affairs. While the inclusion
of sociological terms is limited to such fields as population, migration,

crime, certain social processes, and a few others, they are concisely defined. On the whole, this dictionary is a valuable aid for those who wish to keep abreast with the vast and ever-increasing verbiage on public questions.                                                               M.H.N.

**TELEVISION AND EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By Charles A. Siepmann. Paris: UNESCO, 1952, pp. 131.**

This is a concise report of the current and forecast effects of television on education in the United States. The author distinguishes educational programs from others on the basis of the professed intent of the producer. However, further distinctions are made between the broad, informal programs and those simulating formal classroom instruction. Brief histories of television ventures in public schools and universities are presented, as well as an inventory of the educational undertakings of the major commercial networks. Some attention is given to the French and British television systems. The objectives, problems, and achievements of consumers and producers are reviewed. The book closes with an account of research, criticisms, recommendations, speculative opinions, and conclusions about the use of television for educational purposes.

Although rapid changes will soon make this report obsolete, it furnishes an integrated survey of the major contemporary features of television as an educational medium.           THOMAS E. LASSWELL
*George Pepperdine College*

**SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE BUSINESSMAN. By Howard R. Bowen. With Commentary by F. Ernest Johnson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. xii+276.**

The discussion in this book assumes that it is the "intention of the American people to retain" the present "capitalistic economic system." It deals with "the role of businessmen in making that system operate more successfully." It presents the Protestant views of the social responsibilities of businessmen, the businessman's own conception of his social responsibilities, the doctrine of social responsibility with criticisms of it, and ways of making business decisions reflect a greater degree than now of social responsibility. The Industrial Council Plan as developed by Catholic writers "for ameliorating the conflict and insecurity of modern economic life" is given in detail. Within the limitations set by the author, the treatment is clear cut, sympathetic, and constructive.           E.S.B.

**THE TRUE BELIEVER.** By Eric Hoffer. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. xi+176.

In this discussion of mass movements the author gives special attention to "the militant man of words," a person who discredits prevailing creeds and institutions and who indirectly creates a hunger for faith so that when a new faith is proclaimed it finds eager responses and a willingness to yield to the fanatic. The latter is described as "ruthless, self-righteous, credulous, disputative, petty and rude," a "true believer" who is likely to view other true believers with "mortal hatred."

**PSYCHOSIS AND CIVILIZATION.** Two Studies in the Frequency of Mental Disease. By Herbert Goldhamer and Andrew W. Marshall. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, pp. 126.

As a result of studies conducted in Massachusetts and New York by the Social Science Division of The Rand Corporation, it is concluded (1) that there has been "no increase in the frequency" of psychoses in the last hundred years and (2) that a person at the age of 45 has one chance in twenty of developing a psychosis and at the age of 65, one chance in ten.

**ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE.** By Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1953, pp. 819.

This book, written as a text for marriage courses and to present the findings of the Burgess-Wallin study of predicting adjustment in marriage from engagement data, is divided into two parts—the first on engagement and the second on marriage. Each part contains four kinds of materials: (1) general discussion of the topics, (2) excerpts from life-history documents secured in interviews, (3) findings from other marital investigations, and (4) findings from their research study. The mixing in of reports on their study with other materials makes it somewhat difficult to discover their exact research design, findings, and conclusions.

The purpose of their research study was to test the hypothesis that one can predict adjustment in marriage from data secured in engagement. Two questions are answered: the first is, Are data secured from the couples before marriage *associated* with marital adjustment? They are. Burgess and Wallin found many premarital items associated with marital-adjustment test scores. If the study discovered only these correlations between data secured in engagement and marital adjustment, it

would be a major contribution, for most other studies secured their pre-marital data from persons several years after their marriage.

The second question is, Can one actually *forecast* at the time of engagement the risk group into which a marriage will fall three to five years after the marriage? Inasmuch as it was a longitudinal study, the investigators, on the basis of engagement data, could distribute the couples into some marital-adjustment categories, such as "poor," "fair," and "good"; or "success" and "failure." The few pages dealing with this question (pp. 584-88), while confusing, indicate that rating scores of marital adjustment are correlated with marital adjustment test scores. The rating scores were secured by averaging the forecasts of 30 raters on 14 engagement items, as revealed in interview materials on 226 of the couples. The correlation of the rating scores and the marital adjustment scores was .42 for men and .39 for women. Thus for the 226 couples who were interviewed during engagement, forecasting was fairly successful.                                                            H.J.L.

PLOUGH AND PASTURE. The Early History of Farming. By E. Cecil Curwen and Gudmund Hatt. New York: Henry Schuman, 1953, pp. xi+329.

In this account of "food production down the ages from its earliest beginnings" to the development of machines, the authors discuss such questions as: When and where did agriculture first arise? What animals were first domesticated? What is the story of primitive harvesting? Considerable attention is given to plowless agriculture. The book contains interesting background materials for the student of rural sociology.

SOCIETY AND THE HOMOSEXUAL. By Gordon Westwood. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1953, pp. 191.

The author deals with the extent of homosexuality, its causes, treatments and cures, legal effectiveness, the levels of homosexual society, the mind of the homosexual, and preventive measures. The most important section is perhaps that on causes, which are found in congenital factors, infantile sexual drives, hostility or absence of mother, absence of father, faulty childhood training, segregation of sexes during adolescence, and seduction under certain circumstances.

# SOCIAL FICTION

If one wishes to indulge vicariously in an exciting airplane ride, filled with suspense and nerve-jarring action, he should board commercial airplane 420 with Author Gann on his reported trip from Honolulu to San Francisco. The narrative is superbly told. Gann knows well the phenomena of air and space as well as the techniques of flying. He writes about the crew members with such nice precision that they become well-known personalities. The crew is captained by young Sullivan, confident and assured; his copilot is Dan Roman, fiftyish, who cannot give up flying, even though he has suffered the loss of wife and child in an air crash; there is Wilby, the navigator, who is at home among the stars; the competent stewardess, Miss Spalding, who watches over her passengers with meticulous care; and, finally, Hobie Wheeler, third pilot, young and adventuresome. There are twenty-one people on this flight which entertains a crisis that for hours threatens to end in disaster. A slight unevenness in vibration is the first hint of terror that is to come. After passing the point-of-no-return, the propeller of motor No. 1 loosens and gashes the fuel tank in the wing. As more and more fuel is lost, the problem becomes agonizing to Sullivan. Will he lose his plane in the big drink of the Pacific or will he be able to even crash-land it on the California shore? Unable to concentrate relentlessly on the salvation of the ship, he gives the order to ditch with San Francisco almost in sight. Copilot Roman refuses to obey the order and knocks Sullivan down with a full-fisted blow, telling him to get hold of himself.

In the meantime, the lives of the passengers have been examined to some extent, and here the story takes on some of the aspects of a *Bridge of San Luis Rey* affair. One man has boarded the plane with the intent of killing a fellow passenger who he thinks has had an affair with his wife. There is little Miss Chen, a Korean girl on her way to study at an American university, a young couple on a honeymoon trip, another wealthy couple who are headed for divorce, a young girl on her way to tell her fiancé that she doesn't really love him, a woman with a footloose past, and old Jose Locata, a fisherman with a simple and honest philosophy about life in general. How these different passengers react to the impending danger makes for some smart social-psychological report-

ing. The real hero of the trip is old Dan Roman, whose courage finally succeeds in bolstering the morale of Sullivan to the point that the damaged plane is neatly landed on the San Francisco airfield. Dan is the last figure to be seen on the field, a figure caught limping slightly as he moves away in the fog and the mist, happy in the thought that the high and the mighty have been brought down safely to earth.          M.J.V.

WAIT THE WITHERING RAIN. By Austin L. Porterfield. Fort Worth, Texas. Leo Potishman Foundation, 1953, pp. ix+147.

The book opens with a phantasy. The year is 1976, the second centennial of American Independence. An atomic war has come to a close and all the major cities have been wiped out. A vast cloud billows above the earth for miles and miles. From it descends "a dry rain of radio-active particles," which kills and withers most of the remaining life, human, animal, plant. Above the cloud there gather spirit forms of leaders past and current, who discuss the causes of the death of civilization.

The book then discusses eleven developments that are needed to enable humanity to live together peaceably. "Heaven can wait; but concretely hell will not wait" for (1) the tribal mind to be supplanted by the world mind, (2) suicidal ideas to give way to sound social theory, (3) the freedom of science, (4) a science of freedom, (5) the fading away of philosophies of conflict, (6) attitudes of active good will, (7) a look behind the fifth curtain, or the veil that covers up what nations other than our own are like, (8) the relating of the practice of religious teachings to human welfare and peace, (9) a creative democracy, (10) the superman to give way to mature men, (11) creative designs for living in a democratic society. Space does not permit a review or critique of each of these eleven essentials for a peace-living world, but only the citing of three casual suggestions made by the author for the attainment of a better world: (1) the United Nations "must create diagnostic facilities" for foreseeing crises and for planning for orderly social change, (2) the church is "not supposed to be a victim of the culture of its day" but "to lift that culture," not yield to it, and (3) an adequate technological know-how must be paralleled by an adequate know-what.          E.S.B.

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## *Articles in Preceding Issue . . .*